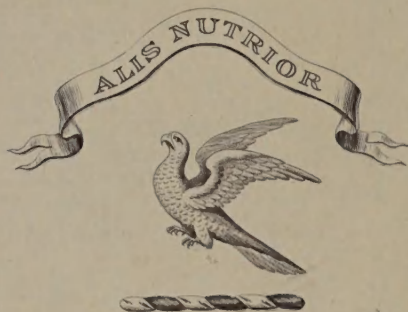


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A HANDBOOK
FOR
ANCIENT WHITBY & ITS ABBEY
BY THE
REV. J. C. ATKINSON.



Norman Douglas Simpson.

1882-

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A HANDBOOK

FOR

ANCIENT WHITBY & ITS ABBEY

BY THE

John Christopher
REV. J. C. ATKINSON, 1814-1900

VICAR OF DANBY,

*Author of the Glossary of the Cleveland Dialect, the History of Cleveland,
Editor of the Whitby Chartulary, &c., &c.*



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PREFACE.

THE publication of the following pages results from the delivering of a Lecture at the request of the Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society. They are merely to be regarded as a small and compendious contribution towards a more accurate history of Ancient Whitby and its Abbey. The author has been many times asked, and by persons from whom such a request was a compliment, to re-write the History of Whitby. His reply has been that, at his age, with only the leisure of a busy life to give to the task, with the vast amount of research and investigation he has been made aware, by his labours over the *Whitby Chartulary*, is absolutely indispensable for the execution of such a task, it is too great and too important a work to be undertaken by him. The present pages, then, are in no sense to be regarded as more than what they claim to be—a contribution towards more accurate knowledge on a subject that requires more careful and thorough handling than it has yet met with, and moreover a contribution in such form that it may be useful to many who have neither the interest, the time, nor the inclination necessary for the study of a more bulky volume, such as a History of Whitby must necessarily be. And it is hoped that in this way the “Handbook of Ancient Whitby and its Abbey” may be found either useful or of interest to many among the visitors to Whitby as well as to the inhabitants. The writer has gratefully to acknowledge very much and most valuable aid from the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, Vicar of Witton le Wear, in the chapter on the architectural and structural peculiarities of the Abbey, and to Mr. Godfrey Hirst of Whitby, for the trouble kindly taken in settling the orientation of the church by actual observation, as well as for the series of measures taken with scientific accuracy, and stated in the appendix.

DANBY, JULY 16TH, 1882.

ANCIENT WHITBY AND ITS ABBEY.



CHAPTER I.

Cleveland in Ancient British times; its Roman Road and what it indicates; its successive occupations by Anglians, Old Danes, and Normans.

“THE site thus consecrated for so many ages,” writes the compiler of one of the Hand-books dealing with this district, and in connection with Whitby and its Abbey, “cannot be visited without extreme interest.” But the interest is in the associations with the place, rather than only in the place itself. And it is curious how many and how diversified those associations are, and how they connect themselves with many ages as well as with many matters. In all the long years of her historical existence Whitby, or the Anglian predecessor of Whitby, has never for long stood isolated or inoperative in respect of influence affecting a far wider area than merely her own environs. Her influence in fostering the nascent Christianity of Northumbria in the century which was made illustrious by Hilda’s own personal labours and those of her immediate foster-children and alumni, is scarcely to be calculated. Again, as the flourishing town and port she became under the *regime* of the colonising Danes,* and besides that as the chief resort for political

* See below, Chapter III.

and religious re-union among those sturdy and energetic settlers, Whitby must have had a potential or effective pre-eminence throughout the whole of the district which was then designated by the name of Cleveland. Later yet, when the Abbey had begun to assume in the minds and feelings and interests of the men of all East Cleveland the same prominence as was asserted by the, in no small part, realised and strenuously progressive completion of her glorious church among the minor buildings, secular and ecclesiastical, of the town below and the district around, it is hard to say within what limits her influence would cease to be operative. At the Dissolution no doubt, for a time, the former glories would wane, and she would be like other places whose glory had departed. But, no long time is allowed to pass, and yet once again Whitby is a port not without shipping and a trade, and one enterprise led on to another, and shipping and trade and enterprise do not allow their source and springing-point to be nameless or without a bearing upon other places and the people of them. And now again, of late years, the name of Whitby is as widely known, and for as good reasons, as those of Scarborough or Brighton, Bournemouth, St. Leonards or Hastings, and the associations connected with the name are as various and as manifold as in the years that are long gone.

Neither is it possible for a writer whose theme is "Ancient Whitby and its Abbey" to deal with the subject as if all the interests concerned centred in and circled around Whitby itself and Whitby alone. In the attempt to cast a retrospective glance over the ages of which no historic record exists, Whitby can only be as a part of a larger whole, and associated with the rest by the common bonds of general condition and experience. Whatever the rest of the district—in our ignorance of any other name by which it may have been designated we may allow ourselves to call it Cleveland—whatever the rest of Cleveland was, whatever its lot, its status, its modes of life and sustenance, such, allowing only for the minor differences introduced by proximity to the waters of the sea, was what is now Whitby, and such also were its daily, or casual, or more permanent habitudes and experiences. It is undoubtedly strange, and from that very circumstance marked out as worthy of at least a passing remark, that the name of such a district—a district which, in modern

days, has been made famous throughout the world by the rise and progress of Middlesborough, and which in mediæval times was made illustrious by such Religious Foundations as Guisborough and Whitby—should be one of by no means ancient imposition. For the name “Cleveland” can have hardly have been formed or spoken before the ninth or tenth century, and certainly cannot have become a geographical designation, generally recognised and accepted as such, until late in the last-named epoch, although, at a time when names meant something and were understood accordingly, it could have needed nothing but publication to ensure its recognition and acceptance. Like Skardhaborg—the burgh or tower of the precipice—it was too happily descriptive not to be adopted when once suggested. The “land of cliffs”—how could the contour of the coast-line of the province designated be more felicitously represented to the mind?

And yet there are reasons why the district that has been called Cleveland for certainly the last nine or ten centuries not only may, but must, have had a name long before the time at which it was re-christened by the Danes and Northmen. It was peopled, and there are reasons for thinking not very sparsely, at least in the former of the epochs usually designated as the “Earlier” and the “Later Bronze” periods. Then again it was visited, ravaged, at a later day occupied, peopled by—shall we, for want of a term justified by any certain knowledge, say?—“Teutonic” crews, septs or families, at a very early period. And before that—I will not venture to say how long or how little before—it had been regarded by the Roman masters of the Island as possessing important strategical features, and as, consequently, calling for the construction and maintenance of a military road into and through it (possibly of a second, less elaborate) and certainly of similar means of intercommunication in the interior, parallel to the coast-line.

All these statements are susceptible of adequate substantiation. The barrows, or ‘howes,’† that are or have been scattered broadcast over all the high grounds of the district—no unim-

† This is the usual country designation for a barrow or grave-mound. It depends on Old Norse *haugr*, Danish *høj*, a tumulus, or small hill raised by hand; a word specially applied to a sepulchral tumulus. In Danish the word *grav-høj* is of frequent occurrence.

portant section of the whole,—the very numerous and, some of them, very elaborate earthworks that score the country-surface and make conspicuous its defensible places and natural strongholds—both alike tend to prove that the (as it is usually termed) “Ancient British” occupancy was considerable, alike in duration, in amount, and in importance. From some of the larger barrows as many as eight or ten—in one instance sixteen—‘Cinerary vases’ have been taken, and that besides other interments in the same howes which were unaccompanied by the customary urn. And while these larger burial-hills have been, as just stated, exceedingly numerous on almost all (if not all) the high grounds throughout the district, and that is tantamount to saying over a full third of the entire area, the smaller mounds of twelve or fifteen feet only in diameter, each of which has covered a body (or bodies) of the ancient inhabitants, are as ten or perhaps twenty to one of the more imposing-looking monuments of the class they belong to.

The testimony of the earthworks, and especially when allowance is made for those that are known to have been obliterated by agricultural and other modern operations, is to the same effect. Passing by the works at Eston Nab and Castle Levington,‡ both sufficiently marked and important to call for far more than the mere passing notice which is all that can be given to them in this place, the way in which all the tongues of lofty moorland which stretch down in their grand elevation into the valley of the Esk on its southern side, creating the wondrously fair and picturesque Dales of Cleveland by the fact of their own being, are scored across with single lines, or by a more compound work of foss and vallum (doubled or trebled in some instances), is both remarkable and significant; and what they reveal seems to be not merely that they were intended to be defensive against attack

‡ The question at least proposes itself for discussion whether these defensive works may not have been thrown up in direct connection with the Teutonic invasions which will be the subject of notice at a future page. The situation of the works at Eston Nab is such as at once to suggest the idea that the position must have been chosen as possessing peculiar advantages for a body of troops having it for their object to repel invaders landing on the southern bank of Teesmouth. For the solution of the question it would be necessary to examine the remaining parts of the vallum down to the surface-soil carefully and critically, and in more than one place possibly, besides pushing the investigation over a sufficient area.

from the South, but—what is more to our present purpose—were not only constructed with great toil and at great cost of effort and perseverance, but at the cost of effort and toil and perseverance that could have been successful only as the result of concert and combination on the part of a not scanty population, then the occupiers of the district now known as Cleveland, and united alike in the labour of constructing and the resolution to defend a series of works which has to be measured by miles rather than by furlongs. §

I make no attempt here to assign even an approximate date to these earthworks, and until they are carefully and systematically dug into and as systematically—or rather say, scientifically and critically—examined, any such attempt can barely be anything better than a surmise or a mere guess. As to the burial-hills, their construction and their contents, the case is somewhat different. All the burials in them—and nearly a hundred have come under the personal examination of the writer, besides a very considerable number recorded by other investigators whose accounts of their work, though sadly inexact and incomplete on the whole, are yet quite conclusive as far as the statement about to be made is

§ When these notes were first thrown together, now a good many months ago, reference was at this place made to what have always hitherto been held to be traces of Ancient British dwellings in different parts of the Cleveland district, as at Westerdale, on Danby North Moors, on the Egton land above Glaisdale Station, in Goathland, and elsewhere. It has for years past been a matter of distinct opinion with the writer that most of these reputed “settlements,” for instance the Ref-holes at Westerdale, the Holey Intack near Glaisdale, the Killing-pits at Goathland, were directly connected, not with Ancient British residence but with mediæval iron-mining—if that word may be employed at all where such shallow shafts are involved—for that is in point of fact, the occasion or practical origin of these pits: they were the shafts by which the subjacent iron-ore was reached. Still a hope was entertained that at least the so-called “British Village” on the Danby Moors, together with a few other groups of pits, similar and similarly-constructed, only very much smaller, might be left intact by the iron-mining explanation. But since the prosecution of the Geological Survey of the district (leading on to the publication of the Geological Ordnance Maps) it has become apparent, from the vicinity of iron-stone at the places indicated, that even in these cases the hut-pit theory must be looked upon as sorely jeopardised. Very careful and systematic examination of the sites in question, and by competent observers, alone can establish the opinion that these pits have any connection with sites of ancient habitations.

concerned—all the burials in them are, without one single exception, after cremation and not by inhumation. It is also a fact, so far, no instance of metal as associated with the burials has been met with. The present writer has met with none; the late Mr. S. Anderson, of Whitby, (whose written records of his diggings are at present in the writer's hands) met with none; nor has any other of the workers in this particular field|| been more fortunate than ourselves. It is true that articles, commonly associated with such burials as are, not infrequently, accompanied by bronze objects, and of such a character as to be by the leaders of research, observation and thought in this department of archæology unhesitatingly assigned to the Bronze Period, have been met with on several occasions. The writer has himself taken no less than three finely moulded and well polished axe-hammers from howes on the Danby and Skelton Moors; one of them only, however, from an original interment, and that one made after an unusual fashion. The other two were from secondary interments, and one of them from a barrow (already referred to as so prolific in interments) which had been so often added to and re-fashioned that the true centre, with originally a very archaic deposit, had been completely lost sight of. And in another notable instance there were found the most unquestionable evidences of four successive epochs of burial, the latest being accompanied with three jet beads of the rudest workmanship I have ever met with. So that while it is clear, on the one hand, that the Bronze Period is represented in our Cleveland grave-hills, on the other, it is abundantly apparent that the great bulk of the larger barrows and, presumably, all the almost innumerable smaller grave-hills in which nothing but bits of unwrought flint and a little charcoal is found, must be

|| These workers are not very few. Mr. Ord records certain diggings in which he was personally concerned. Mr. Craster of Middlesborough did a good deal of work of the same kind some eighteen or twenty years ago, on the Ayton Moors and elsewhere. A man named Ruddock opened some twelve or fifteen burial-hills on the Danby Moors, without permission, about eighteen years ago, and obtained a valuable series of finds which passed into the late Mr. Bateman's possession; and Canon Greenwell has opened several on the Egton Moors. All this is quite independent of the large number that have been destroyed for the sake of their materials by the farmers, or of others opened by casual explorers, in several different localities.

referred for their construction to the period which preceded the general, or prevailing, introduction of this metal in the district. And on the whole, no other conclusion is possible but that, speaking generally, in Ancient British times, down to the epoch in which metal had become, at least in other and less remote districts, an article in common use, the population of the district was anything but scanty, and besides was capable of executing large works that could only have been designed and, much more, executed, under a system of distinct civil and political combination.

Passing onwards from this epoch of Cleveland's experience with the stream of time, perhaps with a leap that may cover more than a century or two, and arriving at the period of Roman domination, we are met by facts that seem to have been hitherto passed over with very much less attention than they deserve, and indeed demanded, so far at least as their significance is concerned:—and that significance I look upon as very considerable in both amount and importance. I refer especially to the existence of the Roman road which passes through Eastern Cleveland, and to the absence—very remarkable as taken in connection with the existence of such a road—of not only any traces of a Roman settlement, but even almost entirely of any Roman remains whatever, in the interior of Cleveland. The total number of recorded 'finds' of Roman relics throughout the district named is exceedingly small, and of those which have occurred the immense majority have been met with on or near the line of the military road just adverted to, or at certain points on or near the sea-coast. Practically, at this date, so far as all *indicia* to the contrary are concerned, Cleveland might have been a desolate, uninhabited wilderness, with one—or probably, a second—practicable route through it, made and maintained at cost, and with effort and resolution, by the soldiers of Imperial Rome; and, let me add, it is by no means clear that such was not precisely the state of the case.

For, of course, the question must suggest itself—Why was this cost, this expenditure of costly effort and pertinacity, incurred? Why was this carefully devised and engineered, this solidly constructed, road projected and executed, and thereafter permanently maintained and guarded? Obviously, under the circumstances already specified, the object could only have been found at the

terminus of the road? Obviously again, as the one port of the coast, to which coast it tends, namely Whitby, is deliberately passed by,* left on one side at a distance of three miles, the object was not to open or maintain communication with a port; and indeed a port on that coast could have been but of little use from a military point of view. Hence then it becomes palpably apparent that the object must have been one limited by the line of the coast itself; and it is at this point that the Roman 'finds' adverted to become so singularly significant. At two points, one on either side of that for which the Roman road is tending up to the place at which it is lost, and those points separated from the said intermediate point, or assumed terminus, by distances of fourteen to eighteen or twenty miles, remains of Roman presence and occupancy have been found, and of such a nature as to shew that permanent buildings of solid construction had once existed there, and unmistakeably Roman in their character. One of these points is on the verge of the Sea-cliff, above the Coast-guard Station overlooking Saltburn; and, in noting this, we must remember that fifteen or sixteen centuries ago what is now on the verge was many yards inland: the other is at or near the Peak, half-way between Whitby and Scarborough. There is also, and strictly in the same connection, the further fact that between the westernmost of these points and the apparent terminus of the road itself the highly significant name of "Street" is met with as applied to a very lonely piece of road in the very direction that an inner line of communication between the said terminus and the western outpost would have required. It seems almost impossible, not to say gratuitous and uncalled for, to attempt to

* This is the account given of the Roman road and its direction: Starting from Malton it "runs past Cawthorn and its camps—through the latter, indeed, as the custom was—and descending through Goathland past Julian Park, runs down Lease Rigg and through the Roman camp there, till lately, traceable. From Lease Rigg its course was turned towards what is now the site of Grosmont Bridge, near which it crossed the Esk, and proceeded by Newbiggin to Aislaby Moor; the last portion of it still distinguishable, when Dr. Young wrote, being at a point where it crossed the road from Whitby to Guisborough about a hundred yards below the third milestone. 'As at this place it points towards Dunsley, and as the road was traced thither in the time of Drake, there can be no doubt that it led to Dunsley,' or probably it should rather be "through Dunsley."

connect the facts of the being of the Roman road, of these permanent settlements on the very outline of the coast, of this means of ready communication between the one and the other, with anything save military objects, and those objects matters which in some manner or shape were connected with the Sea. In a few words the only tenable idea founded on these facts is that the Romans, under compulsion, of course, of adequate and necessarily very cogent considerations, maintained not only posts of military observation—*castra speculatoria*—along the coast from Tees-mouth past Whitby almost or quite to Scarborough, but means of military defence as well, and, as an inevitable corollary, against attacks which, as occurring at all, or even as likely to occur, must have been delivered from the side of the Sea:—or in other, and the fewest possible, words, against Teutonic descents, incursions or invasions.

And with this conclusion another fact, scarcely more than incidentally glanced at so far, may be coupled. The remains given up by the grave-mounds of the district have, as already noted, been, with scarcely an exception, of a certain character. No metal at all has been met in with in any case, and the occurrences of bronze ‘finds’ within the area specified under any circumstances have been few and far between. It has been alleged that the non-occurrence of metal in any of the very numerous Cleveland interments which now have been recorded, and the very rare occurrence of metal finds unconnected with interments, besides being of a character to afford only negative evidence, may also admit of the explanation:—(i.) That the district was remote and hardly accessible, and that therefore the introduction of bronze articles might be expected to be much retarded on that ground; and (ii.) That the district must be held to have been exceptionally poor and ill-provided with articles for barter, or of such a nature as to induce a trader to adventure himself there with metal or other like costly wares;—that, in other words, it was non-productive and inhabited by a poverty-stricken stock of inhabitants. But may it not be fairly enquired whether, assuming the poverty of the people, and the non-productiveness of the district, there was not some other, at least some additional, explanation of the fact besides merely the physical character of the district itself?

May not the population, besides being poor, have been very scanty? May not the district have been poor because so sparsely inhabited? And sparsely inhabited for reasons quite independent of the physical character of the district? For it is to the point to remark that the Romans would not have adopted the measures noted in the preceding paragraphs merely in the face of a prospective or possible or hypothetical danger. The danger must have been imminent, actual, instant, systematised, before the construction of five-and-twenty to thirty miles of main road, and more than the same amount of lateral communication between post and post, would have been devised and completed, and the necessity of maintaining permanent out-look posts and their requisite garrisons recognised. And if so, what about the condition of Cleveland—the district whose coasts it had become so necessary to watch and protect—and of its inhabitants, during the generations antecedent to such recognition and the defensive measures taken in consequence? Practically speaking it is obvious that the condition of Cleveland for the epochs first preceding and immediately following our Era may well have been that of a virtually depeopled district. The period was one when persons and property, and, failing the latter, then the former at least, were matters to be ‘lifted’ by those who had the power to do it, and no small part of the business of whose lives it was to do it when occasion offered; and piratical or predatory Teutons would have scrupled little about reducing Cleveland to the condition, supposed as possible a little above, of a desolate uninhabited wilderness.

It seems almost superfluous to pause in order to remark that, in whatever degree what has just been alleged is true as regards Cleveland at large, it must be regarded as still more forcibly true for such parts of the district as Teesmouth, Staithes and Whitby; because there, as the practicable or easy landing-places for the piratical crews or squadrons, naturally and necessarily the hand of the plunderer would be felt, the wastings of the ravager be inflicted with the most severity, with, so to speak, a final and sweeping harrying, no less than with an initiatory eagerness and cupidity for plunder.

Once again, passing onwards with the passage of time from the epoch thus dealt with, we next note the accomplished occupation

of the Cleveland district by immigrants of Teutonic origin and descent, whom we may perhaps venture to designate by the term 'Anglian.' But there is this difference between the present transit and the last—that we seem, as we pass forward, to see the process of acquisition and occupation in actual progress. The piratical and predatory raids, infalls, incursions from the side of the sea—we can hardly dignify them with the name of invasions—that were the subject of our last paragraphs, depending simply, it may be, upon the personal impulses of any plundering sea-rover or band of such, who found him or themselves strong enough for the effort—after a space would become more systematised and regular in their character, instead of desultory and without combination, as at first: and it is, no doubt, to such a state of affairs that the original conception and execution of the Roman road necessarily refers. Not only the Sea-board, or the narrow strip of country we call Cleveland, would come to be in continual jeopardy, but the wide and fertile plains to the south and west and south-west of the Cleveland Hills would be assailed: and there can be but little doubt that when the weakness which led to the eventual retirement of the Roman forces from Britain began to make itself sensibly felt, the consequences of the commencing reflux would become sensible in so remote, and by ordinary routes inaccessible, a district as Cleveland before they were actually realised in the more central and fully organised settlements of the interior or home region. Or, to put the same in other terms—and without pausing to dwell, however cursorily, on the inherent probability, recommended as it is by apparent historical references, that scattered groups of settlers of Teutonic origin may have found sites for their habitations in the very early stages, if not actually before the commencement, of the Roman domination in North England—it is to be supposed that permanent settlement and occupation may be regarded as likely to have become facts at an earlier period than in the more southern portion of the Island. And it may be noted that this conclusion, based on *a priori* reasoning and inference, is not without some actual confirmation arising out of ascertained facts. What was beyond question a Teutonic—possibly an Anglian—cemetery, and indisputably a very early one, was discovered some few years ago at Boulby on Mr. C. M. Palmer's Easington Estate.

Six bodies were met with before the quarrying operations which led to their discovery were brought to a somewhat abrupt close, each in its own carefully, if roughly, constructed stone-cist, and under such conditions that there could be no question of their being pre-Christian, and at the same time neither Romano-British nor Ancient British. And to this, interesting and instructive as the fact is, it is now possible to add that, over and above the discovery of a seventh body buried under the same conditions as those already noted, in the same cemetery, and brought to light in the renewed work of the latter part of last year, an interment of another character has been found in close local association with the others, which is such as perhaps to furnish a connecting link between the receding and the intruding races or peoples under notice. The interment was one after cremation, and the cinerary vase containing the calcined remains was one of the most unmistakable Ancient British character.

But while the settlement of Teutons at Boulby† seems thus to have something almost of the nature of presumptive evidence attesting its exceptional earliness, it would be idle to suppose that Boulby and its vicinity would be the only sites of Early Teutonic—

† It is a circumstance not quite unworthy of such reference as may be made in a note, that the late Mr. Haigh, in his notice of the Anglo-Saxon Sagas, when dealing with the poem of Beowulf, is disposed not only to find Heorot in Hart, Earn-naes in Eggescliff, Hron's name in Runswick, Raven Wood in Robin Hood's Bay, Roseberry in Hreosnabeorh, &c., but even Boulby as "an easy contraction of Beowulfes-beorh" (pp. 20-28, &c.). And it is also noteworthy that Professor Morley deems these attempts at localization (although cautioning his readers against a credulous reception of them) not quite unworthy of notice in his tractate on the poem of Beowulf. That Mr. Haigh was entirely wrong in most of these attempted identifications there can be no question. There is, for instance, no possible connection between Eggescliff or Eaglescliff and Earn-naes (that is Sea-eagle's-ness), for Eaglescliff is itself a corruption of Egescrif (that is Ege's or Awe's-cliff), the *i* being a comparatively modern insertion or intrusion in the original or actual name. In like manner, and more conclusively still, if possible, his 'shot' at the derivation of "Yarm, on the south bank of the Tees opposite Eagles-cliff," namely as a "contraction of Earn-ham," may be disposed of. Jarum is simply a locative or dative plural, with the signification of "at the weirs," *jer, jar, yer*, meaning *weir*, being an element in several Durham place-names, as Kepier or Kepyer. So also Beowulfes-beorh is a totally impossible origin for Boulby or Bolby, as Hygelac is a totally impossible element in the name Uggelbarnby, which depends simply on the personal name Ugelbard or

possibly Anglian—occupation. It is more consonant with reason to assume that it and others like were probably precursors of the more general allotment and occupation which there is ample reason for concluding took place eventually throughout the entire district. And here we are brought face to face with the fact that when the first sufficient record of Cleveland place-names becomes available, five-sixths of these names as recorded are Scandinavian and not Germanic; and the question may be asked, as it has been asked—What assurance is there that the district in question was ever parcelled out among, and named by, settlers who were Germanic in origin—Anglian presumably—and not Scandinavian? The answer to this is that, did not the other one-sixth exist, involving the presence of such names as Easington (a hamlet of which the Boulby already named actually is), Hemlington, Levington† (Leofwin-ton), Newham, Midelton, and the like, and did we know nothing from historical sources of the renaming by the Scandinavian conquerors of the places they severally took possession of (and of which Whitby is a case in point), still the mere existence of one single name yet familiarly current in the district, would be

Ugleberd,—a name of actual and repeated occurrence in Domesday. As to Robin Hood's Bay, and the possible corruption of the Raven of Hræfna-wude into Robin, while the suggestion is much too baseless as well as far-fetched to be reasonable, it is still a thing to be noted that the name never appears in any of the ancient documents connected with the lands of the township (Fyling) in which the town so called is situate. It appears, and apparently for the first time known, in a formal document (dating after the Dissolution, and) dealing with what had lately been Abbey property in Fylingdales. It is quite possible that Runswick may and does depend on the personal name Hron; but that is a different thing from saying that the Hron of the poem furnished forth the first element in the name Runswick from his own name. The old forms of Runswick are Reneswik, Runeswic, Ryneswic, &c., &c.

† The exceedingly interesting series of carved stones of Anglo-Saxon date, almost exclusively sepulchral in their character, which have been recently disclosed during the demolition of the nave of the parish-church at this place, are quite worthy of passing note as connecting themselves with the question mooted in the text. They number not less than twenty-eight or thirty fragments, and one is rendered particularly noteworthy by the rude sculpture it bears of a mitred Abbot (or Bishop) in canonical attire (or vested), with a bird sitting on each hand and their bills directed, not from, but towards, his head. The usual interlaced sculpture is also seen on the same stone, as well as in many other instances in the same find.

sufficient to attest the fact. That name is Freeburgh Hill. There is much truth in the saying that just as the stones by the roadside are "to the thoughtful eye of the Geologist full of interest," that as he "reads chronicles in every ditch," so too "Language has marvels of its own" and there are "sermons in every word." And to the Antiquarian, in like manner, there are words which are pregnant with history, and such words may be found, not few in number or unfertile in interest, in the place-names of a district. Out of a number I will mention but three. Documents of the thirteenth century now in my possession give up the name *markemot* or *mearemot* as then a place-name in the parish of Wykeham near Scarborough. A document of the twelfth century in the Abbot's Book gives up the name Thingwala, as the name by which a place in the near vicinity of Whitby had been a century earlier and was still known. And Freeburgh, little enough altered from its original *Frithborg*, is no less eloquent than either of the others, and especially the latter. Just as that tells, with an authority which cannot be gainsaid (as will be more fully shown in a subsequent page), of the established Danish polity in Cleveland in the tenth and eleventh centuries, so does *Frithborg*—"another peace, the greatest of all, whereby all are maintained in a firmer state,"—betoken the established and systematised Anglian polity of a still earlier period.

But still no trace, no indication presents itself of the existence of a name as applied to the district at large. We have to wait for that until the Saga-man of Haralldr Hardbrádr tells how the king made the coast of England "where it is called Kliflond" (*er Kliflond heita*), and "fared on South to Skardhaborg," and from that time to this Clifland, Cliveland, Cleveland has been the recognised name.

A short glance back will shew how this had come to pass. The Anglians, as we have seen, like Ahab, had "slain and also had taken possession." But no long time was to elapse before "the same measure wherewith they had meted was to be measured out to them again." The Northmen had also come, and in their turn had slain and taken possession. I am aware that, in speaking thus, I am uttering what sounds like heresy in the ears of some disciples of a modern school. But I think that, like what has gone

before, it may be fully substantiated by facts. The ordinary mode of expression in Higden's somewhat hackneyed phrase is that there was a strong infusion of Danish language and Danish blood among the inhabitants of northern England. To me it appears that, on the contrary, in the earlier stages of Danish occupancy—I would rather say, colonization—in this district of Cleveland, the infusion (if the word may be correctly applied at all) was rather of English idiom and blood among the Danish, than of Danish among the English. No doubt in the lapse of time, and speaking of a wider district—as Higden wrote—this would be materially altered. But no one can look at the place-names of Cleveland with a sufficiently observant eye, or notice the peculiarities of the folk-speech, even in the degree in which they are still found existing, without being compelled to note certain most significant facts. Such names as Ormesby, Bergulfsby, Soureby, Coleby, Swainby, Normanby, Uglebardby, Asulfsby, Overby, Upsal, Arusum, and multitudes of others like, speak for themselves. But some of them speak with a two-fold force. Danby like Whitby is originally a three-syllable word, as Normanby is one of four syllables—a fact which in either case shows that the proper name that forms the first element of the name in question has a genitival inflexion, and that inflexion Danish, § not English. This speaks distinctly as to the language of the men by whom Cleveland was colonised and re-named—a language which must naturally have continued to be used for some lengthened period afterwards. This is indeed an inference which

§ Danby appears in its most ancient instances of occurrence as Danebi, Danebia, Danabia, &c., and Normanby as Normanebi, Normanueby, Northmanebby, &c. As to *Dane*—in composition, Molbech in his Danish Lexicon writes that it is “a word used as an adjective, but *properly an Icelandic or Old Norse genitive* ;” and he gives a variety of instances as, Danefolk, Dane konger, Danebrog, &c. In the same way, *Normanne* or *Normane*, is an old Danish genitive, the nominative of which is *Nordli madr*, a Norwegian, a Northman. A slight corruption made it available as the genitive of a name. And in this connection it should be observed that we have the two-fold forms Asulvby and Asulvsby, Ugleberdesbi and Uglebardbi, Aslachebi and Aslachesbi, (and hosts of others), which admit of no doubt as to their actual origin and form, and which yet deviate from strict grammatical form. But in the cases under more special notice—and the number of parallel cases is very large—there can really be no question as to the explanation of the additional syllable in the old forms of the place-names concerned.

is amply confirmed by a large number of the 'provincial' or 'dialect,' words which still are living words in much of the district, and the number of which, there is reason to conclude, is not one half of what it was at the date even of the composition of the Towneley Mysteries. || Multitudes of such words there are which are so purely Scandinavian that neither they nor any cognate forms of theirs are to be found in any Germanic word-book whatever. Some of them, indeed, are hardly to be found in the recognised word-books of Denmark and Sweden themselves, and not a few are now as much dialect-words in those countries as in the remotest parts of Cleveland itself. But what is more remarkable still, and certainly not less significant, is that there is, in a variety of instances, an almost absolute verbal coincidence, if not approximate identity between proverbial phrases or expressions current in both Cleveland and Scandinavia. The Whitby phrase, preserved by the late W. K. Robinson, "to blush upon the seas," is not a translation, it is a reproduction of a Danish idiom. The same is true of "Lost, like a lopp in a barn," and of "he does not look as if he had lived on deaf-nuts." As spoken by a Clevelander these sayings are nearly identical in word, almost in the form and sound of the word, with the same sayings as expressed in Scandinavian lands.

When we have such evidences to prove the nationality of, and the nature of the speech employed by, the dominant, if not the main, body of the occupants of Cleveland in the ninth and tenth centuries—a manner of speech which has to such a remarkable degree survived into even this nineteenth century—the wonder that might naturally have been excited by the discovery of such a Cleveland place-name as Thingwala, is materially lessened, not to say summarily removed. The place, of which I shall speak more in detail further on, was situated near Whitby, and, as I think, very near the site of the Monastery; and the name serves to show that the men who spoke the tongue, some hints as to the nature of which have been just now

|| The composition of some parts of this book may be earlier than others, but there seems to be abundant reason for placing some portions of it as early as the last years of the fourteenth century. It is a West-country composition no doubt, but the large number of dialect-words contained in it which are either identical or most closely cognate with such as are yet, or have been within the last 50 years, current in Cleveland, make it an interesting subject of comparison and study to the lovers of our old Dialects.

given, and occupied the country from Esk-mouth to Tees-mouth, had brought something besides their language with them. They were nationally coherent enough to have transplanted their national polity, with not only its laws, but its stated, time-honoured law-place, and the name for it. And so, I would observe, there was a great reason not only for the imposition of the Northman's name Cleveland, but for the continued abidingness of it, as the distinguishing name of the entire district lined out in the few words employed for that purpose just above.

Yet once again, passing onward along the course of time, we note another change. The Norman Conquest is upon us with all its ulterior consequences in and upon Cleveland. It must suffice here to remark briefly that one of the last organised attempts at resistance to the Conqueror's will and plans had its local habitation in the Cleveland marshes. The camp of refuge described by Orderic Vitalis would appear to have been constructed on the marshes between Coatham and Warrenby. But, in spite of its almost inaccessible position and its numerous and well-provided body of defenders, the Conqueror prevailed. The upshot to Cleveland in common with the rest of the North was the fearful wasting inflicted by William's orders. Then came the re-allotment of the lands among his faithful followers and trusted adherents. Among these were Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, and William de Percy, while a third, customarily but quite erroneously spoken of as in the same category was Robert de Brus. It has always been usual to say that he was among those who "came over with the Conqueror." If that had been so, it would have been a strange thing indeed if he had been left out in the cold, when all the others, many of them very much meaner men than he, had been warmly provided for. But his name is not so much as mentioned among all the allottees of the earlier part of the Conqueror's reign, and we do not hear of him at all in Domesday until the year in which that book was given in, and that, it is hardly necessary to say, was the year preceding William's death. These three are specially mentioned here because it was out of the lands granted to them that the main part of the earlier endowments of the renascent Abbey of Whitby was furnished forth. Whitby, with all its then wide appendages, belonged to the Earl of Chester, under whom held

Percy, who also held the Hackness manor (where was the perhaps most important original cell belonging to Whitby) of the King *in capite*; while Midelsburg, with its considerable endowments, and eventually Whitby's most considerable cell, was in the domains of Brus.



CHAPTER II.

Derivation of the Names Whitby and Streoneshalch.

IN general estimation, and according to much prevailing practice, nothing seems to have been thought easier (if we may speak of it in the past tense even yet) than to derive a place-name. Thus it has been advanced once and again that Aislaby, sounded Hazelby, and in the vernacular Hesselby, must of necessity have taken its name from the prevalent growth there of the hazel—locally *hessel*—in past days, and that Danby, Ingleby, Sexhow, Picton, the names of stations passed as you journey west from Whitby to Stockton, would remind us severally of the Danes, the English, the Saxon and the Pict! The real fact is that no craft is really—not more difficult, but—more a work of labour, and study and investigation, and patience, than that of the man who would explain the origin of our various local names and distinctions.

The instance of Aislaby is a very instructive one. No one, by any possible chance, could—it may be safely said—by accident or by the mere process of assumption or guess-work, light upon its real formation. There are four places so named, two in Yorkshire, one in Durham, and the fourth in Lincolnshire, near Sleaford. They are all called Hazelby, and by the country folks Hesselby. Yet they proceed from two different, and totally distinct, originals. The place so called, not far from Whitby, is first met with as a written name in the form of Asulvebi or Asolvesbi,* that is the *by*,† or colonist's farm-settlement of Asulf or Asolf. But the other three

* At f. 15^b in the Domesday Yorkshire Fac-simile it is met with in the form Asuluebi (that is Asulvebi), and at f. 84 in the form Asuluesby (that is, Asulvesby, or Asolvesby, or Asolfsby).

† The full explanation of *by* will be given at a future page.

are met with under the forms *Aslacebi*, *Aslacsby*—the *by* of *Aslac*. And in the same way the other names just now given are found to depend on the personal names *Dane*, *Ingialldr*, *Sex* or *Sax*, and *Pik* or *Pick*.

A great deal indeed has been written, and more yet spoken, about the derivation of the name *Whitby*. There is no need to weary the reader by recapitulating the many attempts, at least guesses or 'shots,' which have been made in that direction, some of them no doubt backed by good names, and more than one or two propped up by alleged or seeming reasons. But whether seeming or alleged—and some of them are rather nonsensical on the face of them—these reasons are all like a broken reed when one trusts to them for support.

To diverge for a moment, and only for a moment, and not without a purpose, from the direct line of the present remarks:—Everyone will have remarked the many words and phrases there are in the English Bible and Prayer-book, of good olden usage, certainly, but which still have passed out of currency, and would have become quite unintelligible, as well as obsolete, to the many, but for the nature of the pages in which they are enshrined. One other trait of olden usage, of another kind, also lingers in the same connection,—but does no more than linger, and as a survival, in the reading of those reverend pages—in the sounding namely of the -ed at the end of the preterites and past participles of certain weak verbs, as in 'hallowed,' 'delivered,' 'hanged,' and the like.

This practice is simply what it has just been called—"a survival." And it is a survival from a time when, for good and adequate reasons, every vowel in the language had its own work to do, and did it. Many or most of our readers will have remarked how impossible it is to read a few lines of Chaucer aloud as they would read the same amount of cotemporary poetry. There are no 'numbers' in it, no rhythm, or scansion even, unless vowels which have been silent for generations in accepted pronunciation, and especially final *e*'s in what are now monosyllabic words, have their full value given them as actual and effectual syllables. Thus, on almost any page of an old edition of Chaucer may be found in almost any number such words as *haddé* for *had*, *herdé* for *heard*, *newé*, *largé*, *godé* for *new*, *large*, *good*, *Goddis* for *God's*, *eyen* for

e'en, besides such words as professioun, demonstratioun, where two distinct syllables are replaced by the modern quickly sounded -sion or -tion.

It must be borne in mind then, that in the olden time every vowel had, for good and sufficing reasons, its own duty to do, and did it; in other words, was not silent as now in so many instances, but created or constituted a separate syllable.

Now, in this same connection still, but returning to the subject of the name Whitby and its derivation, it will be well to remember that, for centuries, beginning from the earliest instance of the occurrence of the written forms of that name, it was so invariably written as a three-syllable word, and not a dissyllable, that in the few—the strangely few†—cases in which it is found without the intermediate vowel, one feels sure that the said vowel was omitted by an oversight of the scribe's. And that the word was, in pronunciation, verily a trissyllable, that the intermediate *e* was not a mute, does not rest simply on our knowledge of the value of every vowel in the olden usage, but is confirmed by the further fact that in a sufficient number of instances the intermediate vowel is not *e*, as in the Domesday form Witebi, and the Whiteby, Wytebi, Hwiteby, Wittebeia, &c., of the charters and other ancient records, but *a*—the name taking the form Witaby or Iiwitabi.

And this fact is one which not only demolishes all the derivations which have been so bountifully furnished, together with the reasons, alleged or seeming, severally put forward in their support; not only proves that their authors had not learned the *a, b, c* of their craft, had not even thought of beginning at the beginning; but, at the same time suggests the only possible, and therefore the only true formation of the name. The *by* in this Danish-peopled and Danish-speaking district of course is clear,§ and the prefix is not an adjective, because the adjective, in the direct case, is of one syllable. Nor is it simply the direct or nominative form of a noun, for the same reason. But it is the (genitive or) possessive case of a noun, and that noun a proper noun, or the name of a person. In the

† The name probably occurs 1400 or 1500 times in the course of the old deeds printed in the two volumes of the Whitby Chartulary, and there are hardly five cases in which it is written as a dissyllable.

§ See explanation further on.

fewest and plainest words, the allottee of that subdivision of what is now the 'Parish' of Whitby, which subdivision was originally named Hwitaby, Witebi, Wyteby, and has since stood sponsor for the entire district embraced in that parish, was a man whose name was Hvítr—in modern English he was plain Mr. White—and like other men in all ages of the world, and especially like the bulk of the men of his own day, nationality and position, he "called the place after his own name."||

While writing thus of the name of the place called Whitby, it must not be forgotten that there is another and an earlier name by which the said place was designated at a more remote period, and which has been the subject of almost more questioning, and the occasion of even mere guessing,* than the appellative Whitby itself. It need hardly be added that the reference is to Streoneshaleh, Streaneshale, Strænæshalh, or Streneshalh. That the name is Anglian in its origin and imposition there can, it is thought, be little hesitation about admitting. The form is Anglian, and the constituent elements would clearly seem to be the same.

By the way, however, let it be observed that we have survivals of still older local nomenclature in our district. It is, indeed, a fact well-known and duly commented upon. The stream known as the Cleveland Esk flows into the sea here at Whitby, having taken its rise at Esk-litts some fourteen miles or so to the west. Both those

|| "Hvitr. adj, [fem. *hvit*, neut. *hvitt*]; A. S. *hwit*..... As a proper name *Hvitr*, Eng. *White*, Dan. *Hvid*. Landnamabok..... In local names *Hvita-byr*, Whitby; *Hvita-nes*, *Hvita-dalr*. Landn." (Vigfusson and Cleasby's *Icelandic-English Dictionary*.) The author was not aware that this example occurred until a short time before the meeting of the British Association at York in the autumn of last year (1881), when happening to receive a visit from a distinguished man of letters, then staying at Whitby, the conversation turned upon the formation of the local names in the district of Cleveland, and in search of illustration reference was made to the Lexicon just named, and the special instance of Whitby thus brought under notice.

* At p. 142, Young adverts to the subject, and continues his remarks over several pages following. First, he notes the interpretation alleged as Bede's—*Sinus fari* = the bay of the lighthouse, a reading he does not think could have been Bede's. Then he suggests for notice the guesses, *Gain-bay* or *Bay of Success*, Camden's *Healthy-bay*, *Gull-bay*, *Pirates-bay*, *Open-bay* or *Gaping-bay*, with a final return to the *Bay of gain*.

names are pure Celtic.† Crumbeclive again (now Crunkley, in Crunkley Gill), Coums (two places of the name in Danby, and as many besides in Rosedale), and a few more like local appellatives, claim a similar original. And just as all these names are distinctive of marked natural features or objects of the country side, so, it has been suggested, so bold and striking a site as that long since distinguished by the name Streoneshalch may well have received its appellation at the hands of the self-same sponsors. But the suggestion has never been followed up by the proposition of even a moderately plausible Celtic vocable or combination of vocables, or indeed such as to be worthy a moment's serious consideration.

Dealing then with the name as Anglian in origin and composition, and having the word Streone actually used as a personal name, both simply and in composition, and finding the genitival *es* in the name under notice, which supposes a cognate nominative in the form Streon, the only real difficulty is in the origin and meaning of the final element, *halch*, *halc*, *hcalh*, *halh*, &c. One other instance of the same final element is met with in the volume called the Abbot's Book, or Whitby Register,‡ and therein also is found what appears to be an alternative form of the same name, where the final *c* or *ch* seems to give place to an *f*, just as in our Cleveland vernacular the originally guttural *gh* in such words as 'through,' 'plough,' 'slaughter,' 'maugh,' &c., gives place to nearly the same, or at least to a similar sound.§ There was enough in this to induce the

† "Lits. A spring or source of a stream. This word, which occurs in the local name Esk-lits, is applied to the spring, or *keldhead*, which is the source of the Esk. It may be connected with the Welsh *llyd*, a violent effusion or gush; *lli* (in the plural, *lli*), a flux, a flood, a stream.—(Atkinson's *Cleveland Glossary*.)

‡ The contents of the Abbot's Book are printed, with a variety of historical and illustrative matter, in Vol. 1 of the Whitby Chartulary, published by the Surtees Society. The Second Volume contains a large number of other Charters and other documents, derived from a variety of different sources, distinct from the Abbot's Book.

§ The most striking illustration of the point here raised is found in the case of the word 'grudge,' in the Prayer-book version of the Psalms, in the phrase "grudge if they be not satisfied," where the meaning of the word is, of course, 'murmur,' 'grumble.' This word in the Clevelanders' mouth is sounded in such wise that the form 'gruff' was employed by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson to represent it. The sound of *ch* in Scottish *loch* would represent it more nearly; and it is to be remarked that the Old English form is *gruch*, *grucche*, *grych*, &c.

thought that possibly, not to say probably, or even certainly, the syllable *hale* or *halch* was descriptive, and to suggest its connection with the word which, in other parts of our county, as well as in more northerly districts, occurs in the form|| *haugh*, *hauch*, *halche*, or, possibly, *heuch*, *hewch*, *heugh*. Both these forms are mentioned, and almost of necessity. They differ in meaning, but it is not therefore certain, or even to be inferred, that they are of various origin; while it is quite certain that the meaning of either form is such as to adopt itself to the local circumstances at Whitby. Jamieson, in his *Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, gives "Haugh, Heuch, Halche, *s.* Low-lying flat ground, properly on the border of a river, and such as is sometimes overflowed;" and also, a few pages later, "Heuch, Heugh, Hewch, *s. l.* a crag, a precipice, a rugged steep," adding that the precipitous rocks on the side of the sea, between Arbroath and the Redhead, are called *Heughs*.^{*} Now, while the entire Abbey cliff is

|| It occurs in this form at Hartlepool and elsewhere. There is little doubt that *haugh* and *heuch* are the same words as to origin. But see note below.

^{*} Jamieson gives also the word *Hyngand-heugh*, with the explanation—"a glen, with steep overhanging braes or sides," and also a variety of guesses at the derivation of the words *halch*, *haugh* and *heugh*. I print, instead, what follows from the pen of one of our best Anglo-Saxon scholars:—"I have no doubt that *haugh* and *heugh* are the same word. Every word, however, which Jamieson says about the etymologies is utterly wrong. But there is not much difficulty. The A. G. *helan*, to hide, produced *heall*, a hall, of which the original sense was hollow, cave, &c. There was also a form *heal*, meaning cave, hole, corner, not in the Dictionaries, but used by Ælfred (Sweet's *Pastoral Care*, p. 245). Hence Middle-English *hale*, a hollow, a dale, glen, which is met with in the second line of *The Owl and Nightingale*. By addition of the Aryan suffix *-ka* we get an A. S. form *healca*, a corner, glen, &c., not in the Dictionaries, but preserved in Chaucer's *halke*, a lurking place (a word found in *Promptorium Parvulorum*, and explained *angulus*, *latibulus*). *Healh* is merely the same as *healca*. Then as to Streones-. *Streóna*, if used as a personal name (meaning the begetter, i.e. father) would properly make a genitive *Streónan*. It seems therefore better to take *Streon* (genitive *Streónes*) in the usual sense of strength. Thus *Streones-healh*, or *Streónes-heal*, or *Streones-halch* (equivalent terms) would literally mean the cave or hollow of Strength. But it is clear that *healh* could easily be used with a vast range of senses, such as cave, corner, hiding-place, hollow, ravine, glen, combe, &c., &c. As applied to low-lying ground, the implied meaning is 'a hollow.' As applied to rock, it might mean either cave or overhanging precipice, shelter, &c." This I think leaves little to be desired in the way of either derivation or explanation.

essentially a *heugh* according to the latter meaning given, it must be remembered that the whole of the town of Whitby between the river and the foot of the height on which stand the Parish Church, the Abbey, and the Abbey House and buildings, is essentially a *haugh*† according to the other meaning quoted.

The fact involved in this statement, and other facts cognate and connected with it, are practically lost sight of and remain unnoticed at the present day. For it seldom occurs to any one even resident in, and much more a visitor to, Whitby, to think that, in this the latter part of the nineteenth century, our eyes look upon very different scenery, and accessories of scenery, from those gazed upon by Hilda twelve centuries ago, and still more by the man and the contemporaries of the man who called the place by his own name, perhaps three or four centuries earlier yet. Very noticeable changes, however, have taken place within the last thirty-five or forty years, even as regards the outer edge or verge of the one-time site of the Anglian Monastery of S. Hilda. The pathway from the Church-yard round the angle above the Spa-ladder has receded once and again, to the distance of many feet, within the memory of living men. And, when once the thought is suggested by such circumstances as to the waste, not only at the point named, but all along the cliff-line, what must have been the total waste of that projecting point, exposed on two sides, as it has been, to all the wasting influences of storm and rain, frost and heat, during the last ten, twelve, or fifteen centuries—or, in plain terms, say, since the name Streoneshalch was originally imposed! It probably occurs to few to think what conceptions of this kind involve, not only as to the distance across the harbour-mouth from headland-brae to headland-brae, or as to the condition, the surface, the level and the extent of the surface,

† The fact is well-known to all who have either seen, or otherwise become acquainted with the details of digging for foundations or cellars, or for laying or repairing gas and water-pipes in the part of the town indicated. Only a year or two since, when the shop, lately in the occupation of Mr. F. K. Robinson, was rebuilt or refronted, the writer saw an excavation between it and the Bank premises opposite, of some seven or eight feet in depth, with river and sea-sand and other drift materials to the very bottom. And in some parts, excavations to a still greater depth have been made, with precisely similar results.

of the rocky stratum we call the Scar, but as to the millions upon millions of tons of fallen cliff and consequent talus that have been carried away by the sea from the vicinity spoken of within and a little beyond the historic period;—to say nothing of the other millions and millions of tons of clay and sand and stone brought down during the same lapse of time by the river. Nor does all this rest simply upon a consideration of the changes of this kind known to have been produced, or of the operation and effect, through a very lengthened space of time, of natural causes which we may see for ourselves working on from day to day in their ceaseless energy; there is a curious testimony in the old records of monastic Whitby which brings some of these facts into somewhat strong relief. Five hundred years ago, wanting five, one of the various and recurrent disputes that took place between the Abbey and the Burgesses was settled by arbitration before the Earl of Northumberland (father of Hotspur, who also, with his brother Ralph, was present), and one matter of dispute was the right of the Burgesses to take earth, sand or stone from the waste; and, in the quaint Old French in which the award is given, it is decided that they have no right to take either the one or the other, save from beyond “flood-mark,” except it were by the particular leave and license of the Abbot, and “for especial,” it adds, “they shall be bound” not to take either so as “to damage the Port, or to be to the injury of the Cliff of the Church of Whitby.” In other words, five hundred years ago there was not only the same wasting of the cliff supporting the Monastery as we still see going on, but there was an extensive talus at its foot which was not to be tampered with because it served as a protecting breakwater to the Cliff, and so impeded the action of the wasting forces at work. A like talus, with a like precipitous rock-face above, is I believe still called The Heugh at Hartlepool.

While then it is perhaps, strictly speaking, impossible to say with certainty that the *-halch* or *-halc* in the old Anglian place-name is indisputably the equivalent of this or that of the two more modern forms ‘haugh’ or ‘heugh,’ it is yet abundantly evident that either of them may be its representative, and as nearly certain as can be that one of the two actually is so, while there still

remains the philological presumption that there is certainly the closest derivative connection between the two words; that, in other words, they both depend for their origin on the same old word, the difference in meaning depending originally on some accident of inflection, gender, ‡ or possibly accent. The reader then, in the present state of the question, may select between Streon's Haugh, or Streon's Heugh, as he thinks the probability inclines, to find the modern equivalent of old Anglian Streoneshalch, Streoneshalh, Streneshalc, &c., &c.

‡ For illustrative changes in meaning or form depending upon gender, inflection, and the like, note the word *dike* = ditch, and *dike* = hedge-bank (or, secondarily, rough stone-wall), where the difference depends on gender; *for* masculine, *vixen* feminine; *he*, neuter *hit* (now *it*); *man*, *woman*, *brother*, plural *men*, *women* (the sound of the *o* being besides differenced), *brether*, (*brethren* being a 'cumulative plural,' or a word in which one plural form—that in *n* or *en*—is added on to another plural form depending on *ablaut*). Such illustrations might be largely multiplied if there were more occasion, or greater space available.



CHAPTER III.

The Early Monastery of Streoneshalch: its Destruction by the Danes: the Colonization of the District by them, and its results.

WE have no space, neither is there any occasion, in the present book for a lengthened disquisition upon either the history of, or the legends connected with, the early Monastery of Whitby, the 'Holy House' of the Abbess Hild. As to the history, we know all too little; for what we do know makes us long, with almost a painful yearning, to have the full and authentic details of so majestic a work, together with a sufficing and trustworthy biography of so great and energetic a woman. As to the legends, while we feel that we would willingly give the pages which remain, redeemed here and there by brief passages of sterling history, for only a few additional details of hard dry matter of fact, we see also what the feeling, the culture, the religious condition and credulity of the community must have been, when such compositions were not only put together, but willingly accepted and (it is presumed) unhesitatingly believed. But in place of further general remarks of this kind, it may be not inexpedient to reproduce here, with a little alteration or amplification, as occasion may arise, what has been already said upon the subject. §

"The materials out of which a history of the pre-Norman Abbey of Whitby may be constructed are not only sufficiently scanty, but also are by no means such as to be clear of many elements of doubt and uncertainty. The main facts that Hild or Hilda was the founder, and that the foundation took place about

two years after the battle of Winwidfield, which was fought Nov. 15, 654, may however be looked upon as resting on the positive testimony of Bæda or Bede. In what way the lady so named became possessed of the land on which the Monastery was to be built, and out of which it was to be sustained, does not clearly appear from that historian's narrative. Young says she 'purchased a possession of ten hydes of land in a place called Streoneshalh,' but adds in a note—'the words of Bede do not necessarily imply that Hilda purchased the land,' only 'the Saxon version clearly states that she *bought* this possession,' the word employed being *gebohte*. But inasmuch as the verb (*bycgan*), of which that word is the perfect, signifies 'to procure,' by whatever means, as well as 'to buy,' and the Latin version of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* simply says 'having acquired possession' (*comparata possessione decem familiarum*) of the ten hides of land specified, it is at least open to supposition that, as six of the twelve '*possessions*' or '*possessiunculæ*' (each of them containing precisely ten '*familicæ*' or hides), originally conceded by King Oswy for the purpose of raising monasteries, were in the district of Deira, which included Cleveland, the old or original Whitby Abbey lands may most likely have been, if not certainly were, due to King Oswy's munificent grant. Perhaps indeed the coincidence as to measure in the quantity stated lends likelihood to the supposition.

"The character, the dimensions, the very site of this earliest Monkish Church of all are alike utterly concealed in impenetrable obscurity. There can be little doubt, however, that it was a rude, rather than merely a plain, wooden structure; probably, if not at first, yet eventually, framed of split trunks of trees adjusted side by side so as to give a partially smooth wall within, with thatch of straw or rushes, and side lights only partially secured by a light lattice of split wood.|| And beyond

|| The Church of Greensted near Chipping Ongar in Essex, still standing in the middle of the present century, is thus described in Wright's *Hist. of Essex* (ii. 364):—"It is supposed to be one of the most ancient in Great Britain. The nave is formed of the half trunks of oaks, about a foot and half in diameter, split, and roughly hewn at each end, to let them into a sill at the bottom and into a plank at the top, where they are fastened with wooden pegs. This is the whole of the original fabric which yet remains entire, though much corroded and worn by long exposure to the

all question the dwellings for the Abbess, her nuns and the monks, and the servants of the house would be in strict accordance with the early rudeness of the House of God, not better but, rather, worse or more rude and inartistic.

"Still, whatever the nature and extent of Hilda's foundation, the site, it is evident, had already a name. True Baeda simply says "*in loco qui dicitur Streanæshalch*" (in the place called Streanæshalch); but it is idle to conclude that it had only recently been called so. Like Heruteu (Hartlepool) and Lastinggaew (Lastingham), both of which places had been made the sites of Religious Houses only shortly before, Streanæshalch was already known. What the origin of the name may be it is, however, as has been already seen, though not certain, yet fairly easy to infer. No doubt Baeda's explanation "*Strenæshalc quod interpretatur Sinus Fari*" ought to be satisfactory: but it is not. The name consists of two elements, neither of which can possibly mean *farus*. Young writes pertinently enough—'I am fully persuaded that this explanation of the name must be erroneous; but as it is not likely that Bede himself could have mistaken its meaning, I am disposed to think that the passage is an interpolation by some ignorant transcriber, or rather that *Sinus fari* is not the true reading in his work.' But it is none the

weather. It is twenty-nine feet, nine inches long, fourteen feet wide, and five feet, six inches high on the sides which supported the primitive roof. On the south side there are sixteen trunks and two door-posts; on the north, twenty-one, and two vacancies filled up with plaster. The west end is built against by a boarded tower, and the east by a chancel of brick. On the south side there is a wooden porch." Tradition it would appear connects the building of this Church with the transit of the body of S. Edmund in the year 1010, by reason of the invasion of Turkil the Dane, to London, and three years later back to St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk. A Register belonging to Bury St. Edmunds moreover states that on the latter of these two transits the body was received as a guest (*hospitabatur*) at Ongar (apud Aungre), "where a wooden Chapel built in memory of him remains to this day." Greensted adjoins to Ongar, and the old road from London into Suffolk lay through Greensted; so that there is *prima facie* evidence in support of the notion that the rude wooden Church may have been first erected as a sort of shrine for the reception of so holy a deposit as the body of the Saint, and that eventually, with the requisite additions, it might be converted into a parish Church for such a small district as Greensted, which in 1831 only contained 134 inhabitants.

less certain from the fact that Baeda either gave an explanation of the name which has been misread, or was, through the officiousness of a scribe, supposed to have given one, that the place was one the name of which was neither unimportant or unfamiliar. Perhaps it would not be rash to say that it was a place of some celebrity. For, although after the disastrous battle of Hatfield (Hæthfeld), in which King Edwin lost his life, the head of the unfortunate king was taken to York and, eventually, deposited in the Church of S. Peter there, which he had himself begun (to be finished however by his successor Oswald), yet his body was in the sequel buried at Streoneshalc, without any intimation or hint that it had previously been buried, or deposited, in any other place whatsoever. Now the year of his death was 633, that of the foundation of the Monastery 656 or 657. The inference therefore certainly is that the burial took place many years before the foundation of the Religious House, and consequently that the place itself and the Church of S. Peter in which he was buried were already places of mark.

“Certainly no long time elapsed after the Lady Hild had effected her settlement at Streoneshalch before growth and increase were recognised as the accompaniments of her undertaking, and her Holy House became both famous and important. According to the direct statement of William of Malmesbury it was ‘the largest of the monasteries founded by Oswy’s bounty,’ and, as Dr. Young well remarks, ‘its increase might rationally be expected, both from the rank and character of the Abbess, and the dignity of her youthful charge (the princess Aelfleda). Everyone who adopted the monastic life would be eager to enter an Abbey where a lady so illustrious presided, and where a young princess was a disciple. Oswy and his queen would be the first to patronise an establishment which contained an object so dear to them. The fame of Lady Hilda was extensively spread abroad; she was visited by persons of the most exalted station, and her monastery became the scene of important transactions.’

“The ‘important transaction’ specially in the mind of the Whitby Historian as he penned those words would necessarily be the famous Synod of Streoneshalh in 663 or 664, summoned for the purpose of settling the disputes which agitated the early

Northern Church touching the precise time for keeping Easter, the priestly tonsure, and one or two minor matters. King Oswio himself presided at this Council, and besides him were present his son Alchfrid (who was also a reigning prince), Bishops Colman and Agilbercht, each with a train of clergy, Romanus (the Queen's Chaplain), the venerable James, long associated with Paulinus, and of course the Lady Hilda herself.

"Twelve centuries have passed away since this memorable gathering, and the points then mooted are matters in which it is not easy to take a very lively interest in this age and country, and we probably fail entirely in any attempt to realise how much at least of adventitious importance actually gathered about the transaction. And yet there is often excitement enough about the visit of any exalted or important personage to any particular place on a special occasion, and even the arrival and sojourn of a single bishop at Whitby now-a-days, for the simple object of rest and quiet, is often a matter of public interest, and leads to many a speculation, quite apart from the associated ideas of the discussion and settlement of any matter or matters held to be matters of weight and moment by the general community of the nation. But at this Synod of Stroneshall, over and above the exciting topics of discussion, there were two kings and two bishops of wide-spread reputation, besides others of the clergy whose names and influence were hardly second to those of the holy prelate of Lindisfarne himself."

There is no need to occupy the small amount of space available in this handbook with any notice of the issue of the Synod. "It is the fact of the Synod itself which arrests the passing attention and fixes our thoughts for a moment as we proceed, helping us to realise one little scene in the veritable life and action of those days, and to localise it as having been enacted on a stage the scenery of which our own eyes are utterly familiar with as belonging to one of the pleasant places of our own home-world."

Nor was it only thus that Streoneshall was a place of importance and distinction. "The institution from among whose foster-children a poet like Caedmon, and bishops like Bosa and John (both of York) could be furnished forth must have been one in which there was real life and activity in intellectual as well as in

spiritual and religious matters. That Hilda herself was an extraordinary woman, and would have made her mark in any age is a matter which admits of one view, and one view only; and the presence of such a woman, in such times, and under such fostering circumstances, might alone have been taken as a guarantee that much and wisely organised labour and effort would be steadily brought to bear on the great objects of early Religious Life. We may, of course, without much compunction, discard the tales of Caedmon's somewhat melo-dramatic inspiration, and of John's miraculous performances, as due simply to the legend-loving genius and temper of the times in which the record was compiled; but there will still remain more than enough to show that good men and true were working with brain and pen and heart and hand, and that their spirit and will and energy of working were fostered and guided, as well as inspired, from the fountain-head of Hilda's monastery of Streonshalh. Hilda appears to have died in the year 680, and was succeeded by her royal pupil Aelfleda, who, for several years after she became Abbess, had not only the benefit of her mother's presence and support in the discharge of her onerous duties, but also the counsel and aid of the wise and pious bishop Trumwine, who took refuge at Streonshalh when driven from his own district by the inroads of the Picts and other northern enemies. Aelfleda's death took place in the fifty-ninth year of her age, and consequently in the year 713.

“After the death of Aelfleda a blank in the history of Streonshalch occurs, so complete that during a period of a century and half no record at all of its work and progress—it might be, of its failings off and declension—is known to have existed. It seems strange that such should be the state of the case, for we have the amplest assurance from the bare outline of the facts already stated that a period of extraordinary activity and diligence in the special work of a seminary of ecclesiastical learning and discipline had, as of necessity, resulted in the rearing of a succession of able and devoted men, rising one after another to posts of the highest dignity and influence. Independently of the accessions to the numbers and influence of its inmates which would be made in such cases as that of Bishop Trumwine and

his attendants—a case which it would be unreasonable to look upon as of unusual occurrence—there must have been a large body of duly taught and trained men in the Monastery long after Aelfleda's decease, and it seems hard to believe that no one among them all should have been found willing and able to chronicle the annals of his House. But so it is. If any record was kept the writings were lost or destroyed, and we hear no more of Streoneshalh until we hear of it in its ruin under the incursions of the Danes. The accounts given of the destruction of the Monastery, and of the attendant ravages in the district, by the different annalists who record the circumstances, are not altogether consistent; and consequently they require close sifting and comparison in order to elicit the probable truth. For this there is no space here, and we must be content with the statement that about 867–870 the place was laid waste, and the desolation of the once Holy House became a lasting one. 'Streoneshalh,' says Dr. Young, 'lay desolate for 207 years.'

"But before entirely quitting this topic of the early Monastery of Streoneshalh, it is necessary to call attention to the fact that, whatever the simplicity or plainness, the rudeness even, of the early structures connected with it, and forming part of it—the very Church itself, it is probable, being no exception to the general rule of rough wooden buildings, with thatch of straw or rushes, and lights of slight lattice or, as at York Minster itself, of boards pierced with many holes—still before destruction at the hand of the Danish invaders and spoilers came upon the Monastery, the simple or rude structures of the early days had given place to oratories and shrines and altars so massive and strong that still, after the first wasting, and after two centuries of neglect or worse than neglect, and of the effects of winter's storms and frosts, and of equinoctial gales and other elemental forces, the walls and the shelterless altars themselves of nearly forty oratories are described as remaining to show what the final works of the early piety had been."

But the Danes had come, and the havoc and the wasting had been perpetrated, and the Holy House lay desolate—lay desolate for over 200 years, as has just now been stated. But not so Whitby. Not so the Town, as distinguished from the Monastery.

This may not be the old doctrine. It is quite true that Whitby Historians and other writers have alleged that both Town and Monastery lay desolate through the long space of time so specified, and that when the Monastery at last revived, the Town also revived with it.* But this is wrong, and it is strange that men like Young and Charlton doing so much worthy work, and somewhat under disadvantage too, and holding the very clue to further knowledge in their hands, should have failed to perceive, at least to recognise, the indications that lay before them.

At the beginning, however, of the said period of two hundred years it is a wild and barbarous scene we have to look upon. Ruin, wasting, desolation, havoc, slaughter everywhere. Why should we grieve eye and heart by continuing to gaze upon it! Pass away months, perhaps years, one knows not how many or how few, and on casting our eye around again we see order evolving out of chaos, ruin giving way to reconstruction, thrifty *by's*†—each with the colonising owner's wooden lodge and his

* "When the Abbey was ruined by the Danes, the town of Streoneshalh shared the same fate, and when, after the lapse of 200 years, the monastery was restored, the town revived also." (Young, p. 474.) Statements to the same effect abound, elsewhere in Dr. Young's volumes, and also in other notices of Whitby by various other writers.

† "Boer, Bær, or *býr*.....In Iceland people say *bær*; in Norway *bø*; in Sweden and Denmark (always with *y*) *by*, the root word being *búa*, *bú*..... i. a town, village. This is the Norse, Danish and Swedish notion. ii. a farm, landed estate. This is the Icelandic notion, as that country has no towns: hence the phrase *reisa, góra*, or *setja bæ*, to build the farmstead." (Vigfusson's *Isl. Dictionary*.) It is hardly necessary to add that at the time the Cleveland (and other English) place-names ending in *by* were given, there were no towns on this side either—not even at Whitby. It lay in ruin, and its modern townships being all allotted (and named) in severalty, the township of Whitebi itself would be sufficiently small in area. In trying to realise the meaning of *by* = a farmstead, it must be remembered that the custom of the Old Danish or Norwegian settler in forming a new home for himself in a new country not his own, 'emigrating,' as we should say, was to take with him his household, consisting not only of the members of his own family, but of thralls or serfs besides; and, if a great man, of freedmen also; many of these, both freedmen and thralls, being themselves married people, and with families of their own: and consequently that the *by* as the home of such a household was simply a farming village or settlement."

freedmen or thralls' clustering shanties about it—replacing the smoking farmsteads and wasted hamlets of the slain or dispossessed Anglian occupants, smiling cornfields and verdant meadows again clothing the slopes and brightening the hollows of the lovely landscape. For the new occupants, the new owners—they are brothers in nation, in blood, in bone and thew and muscle, in spirit and energy and hardihood, some of them, perhaps, brothers in even a nearer sense, of the men who colonized Iceland, and wrung a subsistence, not so very rude or scanty, from its by comparison strangely inhospitable shores, and in spite of the obduracy of its winters, the inclemency of its springs and autumns. Fifteen or eighteen of these men, each of them man of mark enough to have been “a man under authority, having soldiers under him,” and to have still men in subjection to him as his thralls, settled about within the wide area of the district embraced by Old Whitby, and no one can for a moment suppose that they would sit idly by and let the desolation remain. The ships too that had borne them to the conquered coast, and which could be and were turned to the purposes of commerce when the objects of plunder or piracy or war were not the more potent in their attraction—these were not likely to be let rot in the harbour, or lightly left to be dashed to pieces on the shore in the time of storm. Reference was made a while since to the wasting of the cliffs. Speculation need not be altogether in vain as to the area and the depth of water in Whitby Port twelve hundred years ago, before the containing cliffs on either side had shrunk to their present limit of projection, or the Esk, in its ceaseless energy of work as the carrier for the mighty agencies of weather and time and natural causes of disintegration at large, had brought down and deposited the fifty-five or sixty millions of cubic yards of clay and sand and stone which have been allotted to her to transport during that interval. But as surely as there was a harbour there, and without question far more landlocked and secure than we have perhaps been in the habit of allowing for, so surely did the keels of the Dane and the Northman, no longer needed to transport fresh hosts of armed men to acquire fresh lands or consolidate past acquisitions, yet still manned by shipmen who were marrows to those who

sailed to Greenland and Finland, Constantinople and Africa, trading or fighting as commerce or war seemed the more attractive or the more stirring, find both a haven and a mart within the bold headlands that guarded the entrance of the ancient harbour of Whitby.

What has been so far advanced may of course be regarded as inferential in its nature; and equally of course inferences may be mistaken or wrongly drawn. In the present case, however, there is a great array of fact on which to fall back, of such a nature as amply to confirm the inference. And first, there was (as has been already intimated) a place within the area of what is now the Township of Whitby, called Thingwala. The place is mentioned again and again in documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and even later, and always as a place that was still known. It is mentioned together with Stakesby and Hawsker and Stainsacre, and other fourteen or fifteen places or hamlets still known, and two or three that have lost the identity they had then. It is not absolutely known where it was. Almost certainly, however, it lay between High Whitby (the Overbi—that is, Upperby†—of the same old records) and the Abbey-end of the cliffs, and more certainly still, it may be, it has gone§ in the heavy wasting of the cliffs already referred to.

† The word *uwer*, the equivalent of upper, is still in use in Cleveland, and the late Mr. Robinson gives the instance 'uwer lip,' = upper lip. In the Whitby Chartulary the name 'Wer Sneton' is met with, = Uver or Uvver Sneton. In the Gysburne Chartulary, the word applied in local nomenclature occurs several times in the form *uuer* = uver.

§ There was a curious conical-shaped hollow, a little to the north of the Abbey, more than half of which has fallen into the sea, and in the interior, or remaining half, is now a quarry. This hollow used to be designated by the name "Hole o' Horcum" and was a place of much resort to children (and others) when the game of 'troll-egg' was more practised than of late years. 'Hole o' Horcum' (there is another place so named not far from Levisham, similarly shaped), is I believe neither more nor less than a corruption of Jamieson's 'Hurlie-hacket, Hurlie-hawkie,' which he defines "Sliding down a precipice, a kind of childish sport." Further, he adds, "It is highly probable that *Hurly Haaky* was the mote-hill of the Castle of Stirling..... 'This heading hill,' as it was sometimes termed, bears the less terrible name of *Hurly-hacket*, from its

It seems strange that the significance of such a name should ever have been overlooked, not only by the men who had the ancient Whitby records under hand, but even by the more general reader or student. It seems strange that any one, who had ever read, not only such a book as Baring Gould's *Iceland*, with the details it gives of the Thingvellir there, but any of the ordinary books of travel or description dealing with the Orkneys, Shetland, Iceland—nay, even our own home-city Chester—and the Thingwal, Dingwall, Thingvöllr of either or all, should not have had his attention arrested by Charlton or Young's bare mention of the Whitby Thingwala as the name of one of the places conceded, almost at the outset, to the renascent Abbey. And still more, it would have seemed quite impossible for any one, moderately conversant with ancient Scandinavian history, and with the Icelandic Sagas, and the development and practice of Jurisprudence, Polity, Religion, described as having their seat and scene in Iceland, and as transplanted thence in divers instances to different parts of our own shores, and in each case still associated with the self-same name of Thingwal or Dingwall, not to perceive the weightiness of the suggestion conveyed

having been the scene of a courtly amusement alluded to by Sir David Lyndsay, who says of the pastimes in which the young king was engaged, 'Some hurled him to the Hurly-hacket,' which consisted in sliding in some sort of a chair (it may be supposed) from top to bottom of a smooth bank. The boys of Edinburgh, about twenty years ago, used to play at the *hurly-hacket* on the Calton Hill, using for their seat a horse's skull.' (*Lady of the Lake*, Notes cxi.)"

It is quite worthy of record that no long time since a person in Whitby, speaking to me of her young days, and of the pastimes of the same, mentioned this Whitby 'hole o' horcum' as the scene of some of them, and at the same time added that at the date referred to there was a tradition or legend still current, as she remembered, to the effect that certain venerable men—not Clergy or connected with the Abbey—had once on a time been accustomed to meet in this place for the purpose of consulting together on matters that required consideration or settlement. Though I had for years, in my own mind, and after seeking the district through, leaned to the supposition that this regular basin-shaped hollow (originally of many feet in diameter) might be, perhaps was, the site of the ancient Whitby Thingwal, I had never before met with any vestige of tradition connecting itself with any such place or meeting, and the combination of both place and meeting in this statement seemed to me very noteworthy.

by the occurrence of precisely the same name at Whitby.||

And yet it is, it may be, less strange that the name should have failed to arrest attention than is, at first sight, apparent. Both Young and Charlton were at a disadvantage. It was with them as with a person who is colour-blind. They were not in a position to see what there was to be seen from, so to say, the imperfect development of a faculty. What is meant is this:—they failed to note the nature, and therefore the meaning, of the phenomena of language, names, characteristics (both physical and psychical) of the people, in the midst of which and of whom they lived. The Danish invasions, maraudings, desolatings, certainly, were facts to them. But the subsequent Danish occupancy, colonization, supremacy; the Danish sponsorship for nearly five-sixths of the existing place-names* of the district, and for almost as much of

|| "In the 'Memorial of Benefactions' to Whitby Abbey, recapitulating the grants of land and other property made to that body by William de Percy and his son Alan, the list begins thus:—'Villam et portum de Witebi, Overbi, et Nethrebi, i.e., Stainsecher, Thingwala, Leirpel, Helredale, Gnipe, i.e., Hauchesgard," &c. Young, in his *History of Whitby*, (ii. p. 912), after giving this "Memorial" *in extenso*, proceeds to remark on some of the local names involved. 'Overbi,' he says, 'is probably High Whitby, Thingwala Highgate Howe,' and so dismisses the name without any practical notice at all. Professor Worsaae deals otherwise with Shetland Thingwal—'Tingwall hvor, som navnet (thingavöllr) antyder, Oernes Hovedthing gjennem aarhundreder blev holdt,' is his notice of the place so named; and but for the remarkable dimness of vision besetting the Whitby historians, their local Thingwal would, long before this, have taken rank with those of Shetland, Orkney, Ross-shire, Chester, and demanded co-ordination in significance alike with them and with Norwegian *Thingvelli*, now Tingvala, and with Icelandic *Thingvöllr*." (*Journal Ethnol. Society, New Series*, Vol. ii. p. 357. A Paper on the Danish Element in the Population of Cleveland, by Rev. J. C. Atkinson).

* There are several passages in Young's History which may seem to deprive this and the connected statements of validity. Thus at p. 50, 'Northumbria and East-Anglia now became Danish kingdoms, the lands were divided by Haldene and the other chiefs among their followers, the few Saxons who survived were incorporated with the new settlers:' again, at p. 82, 'It is worthy of remark that the names of almost all the original proprietors in this district appear to be Danish; which is only what might be expected when it is considered that the whole of this part of England was colonised by the Danes, by whose cruel ravages the former inhabitants had been extirpated;' and yet once more, at p. 84, 'It is no less observable that a great proportion of the names of places in this quarter seem to be derived from those of their proprietors, who either held at the Conquest, or

the language of the country-folk as it was spoken in their day—in short, the fact of the Danelagh and the meaning of the Danelagh in a district where the infusion of Danish blood and speech was great enough (as already noted) to have inverted old John Higden's manner of expression about it,—all these matters were not realised as facts by them, and consequently they failed to note either the name or its importance.

With some few others it has been different, and one of the results was the way in which General Pitt Rivers spoke at the meeting of the British Association at York in the autumn of 1881, making reference to the ascendancy of the Danes in this district as established, and that alike in respect of blood, language, ownership, occupation—all indeed that has just now mentioned; and another, the statements that are thus put forward in this Handbook.

Our Germanic ancestors had brought with them their customs, their laws, their polity; had transplanted from the old soil their *marks* and *mearc-mots*, their *hundreds* and *frithbeorhs*, their *tenmannatale* of Yorkshire, their system of common or *folk-land*, with its *wandales*, and what not. But then came our Scandinavian fore-elders, and “changed all that,” bringing in their *trithings* and *wapentakes*, and for the old *mark-moot*, or meeting of the hundred-court, substituting the Danish usage, and consolidating all with the solemnities, religious and political, of the venerable Thingwal of their grand old Father-land. And one of these had its site, its home, its observances, and its honour, through many a generation, here at our very doors, at Whitby.

Surely that is a fact—and it is as certain as there was a Stakesby, a Dunsley, a Stainsacre, a Hawsker, a Sneaton, an Ugglebarnby, nay, even a Whitby itself, from (let us say) the year 900 onwards—a fact that is flatly inconsistent with the notion that for two hundred years and more the Town of Whitby lay desolate as well as the ruined Anglian monastery.

at some distant period,’—no special notice, however, being taken in this place that those proprietors' names were mainly Danish. But what is meant in the text is that, while these matters are verbally noticed, no lively or actual practical notice is taken of what must have the consequences of the facts stated, throughout the district, as regards language, customs, polity, legal terms and usages, and in fact most of the transactions of corporate life and ordinary business.

But that is not all, nor nearly all, in the irresistible array of facts tending to prove that Whitby was far indeed from lying desolate from the last quarter of the ninth century to the same portion of the eleventh. On the irrefragable testimony of Domesday we learn that in King Edward the Confessor's time—say 1050 to 1060—Whitby was geldable, or in a position to be assessed to the impost called Danegeld, in the sum of £112, a sum quite possibly representing more rather than less than £3500 of our money. Geldable to this amount the manor (manerium) of Whitby, with the berewick of Sneaton, contained fifteen carucates, and had soke besides in Fylingdales, Hawsker, Prestebi, Ugglebarnby, Soureby,† Brecca, Florum, Stakesby, and Newham, to the extent of $28\frac{3}{4}$ carucates more. Now let us compare these figures with those in some corresponding entries in Domesday touching some of the contemporaneously more important localities in Cleveland. The 'manerium' of Lofthouse, then, with 4 carucates at home, and soke in various other townships and parishes, amounting in all to nearly 47 carucates more, was geldable at £48. At Stokesley, with a home manor of 6 carucates, and soke of 34 carucates in other places, the geldable value was £24. At Hutton Rudby, with 6 carucates and soke of 20 carucates additional in other places, again the geldable value is £24. On comparison, then, Whitby, with a total of $43\frac{3}{4}$ carucates, is rated at £112; Lofthouse, with nearly 51 carucates, at £48; Stokesley, with $40\frac{1}{2}$ carucates, at £24; and Hutton Rudby, with 26 carucates, likewise at £24.

Thus Whitby, with sensibly less 'carucatage,' was very considerably more than twice as valuable, as regarded taxation to Danegeld, than Lofthouse; with a little more extent than

† Charlton (*Whitby*, p. 70, n.) authoritatively identifies this place as Sneton Thorpe, and Young follows him without inquiry. No reason is alleged in either case. But both these writers are undoubtedly wrong in such identification. Their sole reason for taking the place named to be Sneton Thorpe seems to be its collocation with Prestebi in the terms of the grant to the Priory. Two or three deeds printed in *Whitby Chartulary*, vol. ii. (and derived from the Museum Copy of old Whitby Charters) place the matter beyond doubt. Soureby is in them mentioned as associated with the Carrs, Stakesby, Ruswarp, Baldby, Brecca, &c., all of them places on the other side of the Esk as compared with Sneaton Thorpe.

than Stokesley, was nearly five times as productive; and with nearly twice as much acreage as Hutton, was yet nearly five times as valuable. Or to put it in yet another way, so as to elicit the same facts in yet another form, Whitby was geldable to the amount of upwards of £2 10s. for each carucate in the estimate; Lofthouse at not quite 18s. 10d.; Stokesley at 11s. 10d.; and Hutton Rudby at something under 18s. 6d.

Of course, in the face of such statistics as these, it is idle, not to say absurd, to speak of Whitby, Town as well as Monastery, as lying desolate for over two hundred years, and only reviving after the refounding of the Abbey by the Normans in 1075 or later. For really, after making all possible allowance for the probably greater value of land, then as now, when near a place like Whitby, in contradistinction to more inland and country places like Lofthouse, Stokesley and Hutton, still we are obliged to leave a large margin for value of another kind—such, namely, as would depend on civil and mercantile considerations. Or, to put it in other words, Whitby, at the time of the valuation taken in King Edward the Confessor's time, as recorded in the Domesday Book, must have been an important, a prosperous and wealthy Town and Harbour. Less than this, surely, can scarcely be said of a place which was returned as assessed at a sum of £3500, or more, of our present money to the one tax in question.

But in order to corroborate this conclusion with even more convincing force, there is yet another calculation which may be made, both brief and perhaps a little rough, but in the main neither inaccurate nor misleading. Assuming Freeman's statement as to the last assessment of Danegeld during the Conqueror's reign—that is to say, 6s. per hide—to be valid, and that, for such practical purpose as the present calculation, the carucate contained about three hides, and that, in Freeman's words, "along with the Danegeld, a tax which was strictly a *tax upon the land*, came the 'aids' of the towns, an impost which has been held to be in effect the Danegeld levied on those parts of the kingdom to which the reckoning by hides could not apply"—then we have this remarkable result:—Lofthouse, with its 51 carucates containing about 153 hides, each rated at 6s., would

be geldable at £45 18s., the balance of £2 2s. going to make up the £48 stated in Domesday being, it is to be presumed, due upon the town; Stokesley, with $40\frac{1}{2}$ carucates, or about 121 hides, at 6s. a hide, ought to have been rateable at £36 6s., but actually was geldable at only £20 (however that fact is to be accounted for); Hutton Rudby, with its 26 carucates, or 78 hides, was rateable at £21 18s., leaving a balance of £2 2s. (as at Lofthouse) to make up the Domesday value of £24; while Whitby, with $43\frac{1}{4}$ carucates, equivalent to about 130 hides, at 6s. a-hide would return £39, leaving a balance of some £73 to be made good by the 'aid' from the Town and Port:—a conclusion which, it would most clearly appear, summarily disposes of the theory that Town as well as Monastery lay ruined and desolate from the period of the Danish invasion until some eighteen or twenty years after the Conquest.

There are other facts and considerations all with the same general tendency and bearing, but limited space forbids any detailed notice of them. Pass we on therefore to the facts and the history of the Restoration of the Great Religious House of Whitby.



CHAPTER IV.

The Restoration of the Monastery of Whitby.

WHAT has been remarked on this subject in the Introductory Chapters of the *Whitby Chartulary*, and with only too abundant justification of its truth, is as follows:—"The history of the earlier steps taken in the refounding of the Monastery of Whitby is involved in very great obscurity and beset with much perplexity, not because there are no ancient records treating of the subject, but because these ancient records are so hopelessly inconsistent and, indeed, irreconcilable with each other, that even a probable approximation to the truth becomes extraordinarily difficult." And in the following paragraphs will be found a brief detail of what these records mainly are, together with the estimate formed by the writer of the value or authenticity, or both combined, of either or each of them.†

1. In the first place there is what is usually described as the 'Memorial of Benefactions,' which is clearly the most ancient writing in what is known as the 'Abbot's Book,' or 'Whitby Register,' which is also clearly of a date anterior to 1175, and which may thus claim to be considerably earlier than any other of the records in question save only Domesday, and, by a less space, than the notice by Symeon of Durham. And as to the authenticity and authority of this document, it would seem that

† I have no wish to express myself as if *exeathedra*, or as desiring to give an authoritative opinion; but simply as giving expression to the judgment I have been led on to form, after ten or twelve years of careful and painstaking examination of the authorities in question, involving much patient and often toilsome enquiry and research, consideration and comparison, both as to the evidence itself, so far as it is still extant, and as to its significance and import, alike in detail, and in its general bearing on the whole subject in question.

almost complete credit may be given to its statements, and that thus its historical value, as both very ancient and quite authentic, is of a high order.

II. Secondly, there is the statement given by Symeon of Durham, which also may be accepted as distinctly authentic, but which is necessarily brief, and contains scarcely anything of the nature of detail. In fact what is said is that Reinfrid (one of three monks who had left the Convent of Evesham together in order to restore Religious life in the North) "came to Streones-halch, which was also called Hwitebi, where, receiving all who came to him, he commenced a regular monastic establishment."

III. Thirdly, there is the story given in the narrative purporting to be by Stephen of Whitby of the foundation of S. Mary's Abbey at York, and which there can be little hesitation in characterising as eminently untrustworthy. Considered as the production of Stephen himself, to whose pen it is ascribed, it is doubtless a forgery; and it is besides what may be fairly described as a sensational fiction rather than a true history, having probably been written by a monk of St. Mary's long after Stephen's decease, and with the distinct object of magnifying and enhancing his fame—the fame, that is to say, of the ecclesiastic who had not only been the first Abbot of the new Monastery at York, but beyond doubt very largely concerned in all the transactions connected with the completed foundation of that Monastery.

IV. Then, in the fourth place, there is the relation of the troubles which befel the rising community at Whitby in the time of Rufus, which is derived from Dodsworth's manuscript, and which is therein said to have been taken from a book, or books, formerly in the possession of the Cholmley family, but no trace of which has been met with for many generations. This, too, while dealing with facts, as Stephen's narrative does, deals with them in a way which is inconsistent with other, and thoroughly well-ascertained facts, and must therefore, as to many of its details, be treated as a fiction founded upon fact, and only depended upon when its statements are not either directly or indirectly contradicted or invalidated by other authority of a more solid description.

v. Then, fifthly, there is the testimony which may be collected from the various documents, to the number of nearly six hundred, copies of which are found in the two Chartularies of the Abbey yet extant (one in the possession of Sir Charles Strickland, and the other in the British Museum), in various MSS. preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, or in the Museum in London, or in the Record Office, and elsewhere; besides the Books of the Archbishops in the Registry at York; almost all of which are of true historical value, and many of them of exceeding interest as well.

vi. And lastly, there are the notices in Domesday touching Whitby and Hackness, and the inferences, some of them plain and inevitable, others of them more of the nature of presumption, which may or must be derived therefrom.

All that can be done in this place in reference to these several sources of history as bearing upon the details connected with the refounding of the Abbey, is to make a brief but plain statement of the results of the long-continued collation and consideration of them with which the writer has been engaged; and possibly no more suitable form of words can be employed than the historical recapitulation printed at the close of the Introductory Chapters already adverted to, merely premising that there are two or three points, to be indicated in their proper place, as to which a more definite opinion has been arrived at than when those words were perpetuated by the printer.

“On the whole, the history of the nascent Monastery may be read somewhat in this way:—At or near the date alleged—some definite but not very long time before 1078—a monk named Regenfrith or Reinfrid§ came to Whitby. He had been an active and energetic officer in the Conqueror’s service, was connected by marriage or otherwise with well-known and important

§ Mr. Freeman gives the correct form of this name, or Regenfrith. The prefix is one found in Scandinavian names, as well as in Anglo-Saxon ones. But Vigfusson, in his *Icelandic Dictionary*, refers the student to the Old German and Saxon names beginning with *Ragin-*, modern *Rein-*, *Rayn-*, *Ran-*, and the *-frith* is so unmistakably Anglo-Saxon that there can be no question of its origin, notwithstanding which Reinfrid is spoken of as a Norman by more than one of the modern writers about Whitby.

families, and more than presumably had been an agent in carrying out the terrific wasting to which the North had been subjected in the year 1070 by William's orders. Struck with compunction, he had retired to the Convent at Evesham, and there had been duly trained and instructed in the duties and practices of a monastic life. Filled with an ardent desire to be instrumental in the revival of Religion in the North, he, with two others like-minded with himself, penetrated eventually to Jarrow, and in the sequel came on by himself to Whitby. Here before long he succeeded in collecting a body of would-be Religious, having already, it may be presumed, ascertained the willingness, or more than willingness, of William de Percy, then the mesne tenant of the whole Whitby district, || to sanction his undertaking and further his objects by, at least, leave and licence to occupy the site and the remains of the ancient Monastery, if not by a formal concession of the said site and its remains together with its old appurtenances. But this concession, if it was not made at first, speedily ensued, and a settlement, having at least more or less of monastic form and order, was organised and effected certainly before the year 1080. Reinfrid continued to act as Head or Superior of this Monastic Establishment, under the title of Prior, for at all events a few years; and under his Priorate certain accessions accrued to the lands and church already assigned to the brotherhood—notably the Church or Chapel of Middlesbrough with its tithes, the latter payable out of a considerable district; and also, not less notably, the Church of S. Peter at Hackness, or, in other words, that one of the two

|| A tract of country, which at that time included Fylingdales, as well as Sneaton, Uggelbarnby, Sleights, and Eskdale-side, besides all that is now in the parish of Whitby up to the confines of Lythe. Hugh Lupus, or Hugh, Earl of Chester, was the tenant *in capite* at this time, and copy of a charter purporting to be a grant by him to Reinfrid and the Whitby fraternity exists in the Abbot's Book. Eventually, but in virtue of what arrangement, either with the Earl of Chester or with the King, is not known, the whole of the Whitby *manerium* with its appurtenances was transferred to William de Percy as tenant *in capite*. In all probability the new arrangement was made in order to facilitate the endowment, and the confirmation of the endowment, to the Religious House at Whitby, just raised or just about to be raised to the dignity of an Abbey instead of a Priory.

Churches there which was attached to the old Monastic Cell which, in old days, had been a dependency or appurtenance of the Whitby Monastery; and together with the said Church two or more carucates of land in the same vill.

“During the incumbency of Reinfrid, Stephen, the future first Abbot of S. Mary’s at York, joined the brotherhood, and being a man of position and importance from a worldly point of view, and of considerable capacity, conceived himself, and was considered also by a not inconsiderable party among the brethren, to be a suitable successor to Prior Reinfrid when the career of the latter was cut short by his accidental death while helping in the labour of constructing a bridge at a place called Ormesbridge on the Derwent. The Percy family, however, preferred that one of themselves—a brother of the Founder, in point of fact, already a monk of some standing in Monastery, and who, on joining the fraternity, had brought with him a sensible increase of endowment—should be promoted to the vacant post, and consequently Serlo de Percy was made Prior in the room of Reinfrid.” About, or not long after, this time probably, Stephen departed—in the Introduction to the Whitby Chartulary it is said ‘seceded’—from Whitby, and, with a possible halt at Lastingham, went on to York, where eventually, and indeed only a short time afterwards, he became Abbot—the first Abbot of S. Mary’s Abbey.”

The word ‘seceded,’ as just noted, was employed because it seemed quite probable that Stephen, acting under the influence of disappointment or irritation, quite possibly also of ambition, might have resolved upon just that line of action. But since those lines were written a statement has been met with among the matters recorded in the ‘Chronicle of Melsa’ which gives an entirely different colour to his action, and helps to throw much valuable light on what was before a very obscure series of events. The statement referred to is simply and literally this:—“Adam, our first Abbot”—that is of Melsa or Meaux, a monastery in Holderness—“was at one time a monk of Whitby, and was one of those who went forth from the Monastery of Whitby for the purpose of initiating the Monastery (*ad inchoandum monasterium*) of the Blessed Mary at York.” The statement is very direct, and as plain as it is direct; and the fact stated is so utterly in

accordance with the continual practice of the time that, combined with such notices as we have of the same foundation in Symeon of Durham, or in his Continuator's writings, and the like, there could be no well-grounded hesitation in accepting it, even if it did not so commend itself to our acceptance, not only by its common sense nature, but also by the explanation it affords where an explanation was rendered most necessary by the manifest inconsistencies, contradictions and fictions of the so-called Stephen narrative. It is obviously very far from unlikely that such a man as Stephen evidently was should aspire to succeed to the Priorate on the untimely decease of Reinfrid, and still less so that he should be disappointed by the natural, not to say inevitable, preference of a member of the Founder's family to himself. If it were so, it would be a strong additional reason for his selection as the head of the body of monks who were deputed by the Whitby brotherhood to formally commence and organise the Monastic Settlement "in honour of the Blessed Mary" at York; and if it were not so, still his recognised fitness and capacity, and from both points of view—the secular, as a man of worldly mark, and the religious, as a duly trained ruler of monks—might and would be amply sufficient to induce his appointment as their leader and eventual Superior. In a few words, we seem to be fully warranted in claiming for the early Priory of Whitby the honour of being to the great and wealthy and famous House of S. Mary at York what (to mention but a single instance or two) S. Mary's herself was, in effect, to Fountains, and Furness to Byland—namely the foster-mother from whose bosom issued the monastic colony which was the efficient first cause of her being.

To resume the thread of the narrative of the sequence of events in the refounding of the Monastery of Whitby:—Serlo de Percy had become Prior in the room of Reinfrid. "Further concessions of property were obtained for the Convent, just as (as already noticed) some additions had been made when he took upon himself the monkish profession and became an inmate of the Monastery, and the nascent convent and its Head became invested with considerable influence and prestige." It is true there were certain breaks in, or checks to, its prosperity, and probably

at an early period of Serlo's presidency, under the attacks, as it is alleged, of marauders, pirates, and banditti, and thus a retreat to the Hackness Cell for a time became compulsory. Still these breaks or checks were but temporary, and the House continued to grow in wealth, influence and importance. "And it was while this was so that William de Perci, the Founder, animated by the same religious fervour which sent him forth as a crusader to meet his fate in the Holy Land, conceived the idea, in its practical form, of elevating what had hitherto been comparatively a somewhat unimportant Priory into a well-endowed and influential Abbey; and his own grants and donations being largely supplemented by others from various members of his own family, and from a number of his subinfeudatories, and other men of note besides, the proposed change was effected, and William de Percy, nephew of the Founder and of Prior Serlo, was advanced to be the first Abbot." It is of course possible that this was done with the full approval and consent of Serlo. It is perhaps more likely that it was otherwise, and that the change was brought about rather by the "virtual supersession, than in virtue of the voluntary resignation, of the incumbent Prior, who, however, it is known with entire certainty, retired to the Cell of All Saints, York, and continued to be Prior there for several years after the constitution of the Abbacy at Whitby. But whether he ceased to be Prior of Whitby by supersession or by resignation, a foundation might easily be found in the fact of his ceasing to be Prior just when his nephew was advanced to be Abbot, for the stories, compiled by writers living probably several generations afterwards, about the variance between the brothers, William (the Founder) and Serlo,* and the persecution the latter was represented as having undergone at the hands of his powerful and, as alleged, unscrupulous brother—a man, whose last recorded action, notwithstanding, is a munificent deed of gift to the self-same (as alleged) persecuted Prior and his Canons."

A few special words should be spoken touching the migration to Hackness, which, it would be observed, was asserted, not

* The reference is to the compilation mentioned above under the fourth head in the list of authorities available in endeavouring to delineate the early history of the restoration of the Abbey,

simply suggested; and also as to the corresponding manner in which the retreat of Serlo to the All Saints' Cell, as its Prior, was distinctly alleged. There is no doubt on either head. In the *Liber Vitæ* of Durham there is a note, which has been copied in one of the Cottonian Manuscripts, and also in one place (if not in two) in the Dodsworth Collections, and which mentions a 'conventio' or covenant between the Monks of Durham and the Monks of—not Whitby, but—Hackness, with Serlo distinguished by name from amongst the rest, and in such wise as only the Head or Superior could be.

And as to Serlo's final retreat to All Saints', although Dr. Young ventures the statement that he was "succeeded" by his nephew, William de Percy, who "obtained the title of Abbot," and notices the obscurity touching the date of his death, and quite obviously regards the succession of the nephew as consequent on the death of the uncle; and although Charlton, with his characteristic dogmatism as to dates as well as other matters, states, on the strength of his own *ipse dixit* only, that Serlo "continued to preside with great reputation as Prior for almost twenty years, and died about the year 1102.....being succeeded as Prior of Whitby by his nephew, William," still there is a Charter by Nigel de Albini in the 'Whitby Register,' or 'Abbot's Book,' the date of which Charter lies between the years 1108 and 1114, which expressly mentions Prior Serlo and the other monks of the Church of All Saints in Fishergate at York; not to detail the corroboration of the same fact obtainable from another charter by the same grantor, the original of which is still extant at Durham.

CHAPTER V.

Notice of the Fabric of Whitby Abbey
Church; its Periods of Erection; various
Parts and Dimensions; and some of
its Architectural Features.

THIS book would be left very imperfect without some notice, more or less in detail, of the material fabric of the Abbey and its Church, and especially of the small remaining fragment which our eyes are still permitted to gaze upon with admiring interest. One needs not wide architectural knowledge and experience in order to be sensible of the singular beauty, and even grandeur, of the Whitby ruins, nor is it assuming the part or tone of an architectural critic to try and give some expression to the feelings stirred in one's heart by a contemplation of its fair and impressive loveliness. Among the remains of old Conventual Churches with which most of us are acquainted there seem to be few that surpass Whitby in symmetry, grace and beauty, and the beauty is of no ordinary kind. It is not simply the composition of the "matchless eastern elevation" of the choir, or other portion of the buildings, or the grace of the grouping, or the tender handling of the mouldings, or the lovely ornamentation of the sculpture, and the like; but there is something which grows on the beholder, impresses him, fills him with an idea of beauty and even grandeur which is in reality almost mysterious. It is as when a man who has not the advantages of an imposing presence or majestic stature yet succeeds in impressing on his hearers or on his contemporaries the conviction of his essential greatness, power or majesty. So Whitby is not a large Church; rather the contrary.†

† The dimensions are given at a later page.

And yet there are impressions produced in the observant and thoughtful beholder's mind such as are usually associated only with great expanse or with majestic proportions. And this is but one of the claims on our admiration, silently but forcibly put forth by this remnant of the grand work of other and elder days. There is this somewhat mysterious influence, but there is a subtle beauty and power besides, which twines itself about our affections and fills us with a loving, longing recollection at many another time besides that of our actual on-looking, and in many another and more distant scene than the grassy verge of the old and well-remembered ruin.

Before proceeding to notice more definitely the indications which yet remain of what the Abbey Church must once have been, it may not be inexpedient to remark that so early as Serlo's Priorate, or in other words before the close of the second William's reign, there was, as appears from a Charter by Uctred fitzCospatric ‡ (copy of which is found in both the Chartularies of Whitby), a "*Magister operis ejusdem loci*," named Godefridus; one who was, to all intents and purposes, 'professionally' engaged in designing and constructing the buildings of the new Foundation; and, first and foremost, beyond all question, as it must by the necessity of the case be assumed, among those buildings was the Church in which the Brethren were continually to serve God. The fact is a very important one and should not be overlooked, that before 1100—probably between 1095 and that date—Church-building especially, as well as other works of construction, was being pushed forward at Whitby.

The fact is, as has just been stated, an important one, and in the following connection as well as others—that there is a notion abroad that there was no stone church built at Whitby before that the ruins of which we still have before our eyes. The notion, however, is certainly erroneous. More probably there were three, and even, in a certain sense, four.

‡ It is not certain whether this Cospatric was "*Cospatricius Comes*," of Domesday, and Earl of Northumbria, or his son. Either of them seems to have had a son Uctred, and, besides this, Dolfin, (or Thorfin, as in the Whitby Chartulary) was also a name of frequent occurrence in the family. It is quite within the range of possibility that the Uctred or Uchtred here named was a son of Earl Cospatric.

In the first place, quite independently of historical testimony, it is altogether impossible to suppose that a place like Streoneshalch, so important alike in its connections and influence, and so widely famous throughout the North, should alone have been left without more abiding buildings than the possible wooden ones of her earliest days. Were there nothing else than the fragment of the shaft of an 'Anglo-Saxon' grave-cross which lies in the glass-covered case just within the gate admitting to the Abbey grounds, or the fine similar shaft still standing at Hawsker, § in the way of wrought stones belonging to that period, it would be quite enough superabundantly to testify to the fact of the necessary existence at Streoneshalch of stone buildings. But the remains of the same era belonging to Hinderwell and Hackness all corroborate the same view, and the positive testimony of the writer of the 'Memorial of Benefactions' is really hardly necessary to place the matter beyond the reach of possible doubt. It is as follows:—Speaking of the grant of the "hallowed place" to Prior Reinfrid by William de Perci, he mentions a fact which is full of significance as to what the Monastery had become before that great ruin at the hand of the Danes had come upon it. "There were at that time," he says, "in the same vill (of Prestebi, namely), as ancient men of the country have delivered to us, almost forty cells or oratories (*monasteria vel oratoria*),|| only

§ It should be noticed that Hawsker (Haukesgarth, Haukesgard of the old deeds) was a part of the Abbey property after its refounding, and probably in Anglo-Saxon times too; in which case the argument in the text would be strongly re-inforced,

|| There is here what may well be regarded as a singular, because unintended, confirmation of the truth of the narrative delivered in the Memorial of Benefactions. "Nearly forty monasteries or oratories,"—that is, according to the literal meaning of the words employed, places where people lived alone, or places where prayer was wont to be made. In speaking of the early monastery at Coldingham, Bede (*Historia Eccles.* Lib. iv. c. 25) makes mention of the many several "casæ or domunculæ quæ ad orandum vel legendum factæ erant," constituting the establishment, and each occupied by its own specific inmate—little cots built for praying or reading, as well as for separate living or dwelling by the recluses. The same again appears in notices of the monastic establishment at Iona, not to mention other sources of information. "Within the enclosure was a *plateola* (or open area) surrounding or beside which were the lodgings (*hospitia*) of the community. They appear to have been huts, originally formed of wattles

the walls of which, however, with the disused and unsheltered altars, had remained in being, owing to the destruction wrought by the piratical host." Now, while from the number specified we may gather something as to the eventual magnitude and extent of the Anglo-Saxon establishment, we are certainly not left in uncertainty as to the massive nature of the buildings—ecclesiastical buildings, moreover, from the particular mention of the altars—which had replaced the possibly rude and frail structures of the earlier settlement. Walls and altars which still retained their form and consistency after two centuries of exposure and neglect, over and above the violence of the original havoc, must have been strong and well-built as well as massive.*

or of wood. External authorities call them *bothæ, cellæ, cellulæ*." (*Historians of Scotland. Life of S. Columba*, p. cxx.) But "the most important building was the *sacra domus*, indifferently called *ecclesia* and *oratorium*. It was provided with an *altarium*, remote from the door, and on it the customary vessels."—(Ib.) Again, in one instance quoted in the notes to the same book at p. 240, mention is made of three churches within the enclosure, together with the *cellulæ* of the monks. In this case there would have been several altars, and no doubt in such an establishment as the Monastery of Whitby had grown to be, probably before the Abbess Hild went to her well-earned rest, even if there were not separate or several churches within the sacred enclosure—an assumption made almost compulsory when we recall the very great accessions to the number of worshippers incident on the visits or permanent residence of royal and other visitors, religious refugees, men in course of training for monastic or missionary work, elsewhere as well as at Streonshalch itself—still there might well be, almost must of necessity be, many altars within the precincts of the main or *matrix ecclesia*. And thus we may, besides the confirmation of the truth of the narrative incidentally afforded by the mention of divers *oratoria*, easily see the explanation of the fact alleged that there were still several or many altars extant when Reynfrid began his work on Priestby heights.

* There is another consideration which presents itself here, and in connection with the name Prestebi, and its meaning and application as one of the names of the site of the Abbey. The Memorial of Benefactions begins:—"Be it known to all those serving God and St. Hilda the Abbess, in the place which was of old called Streoneshalc, then was termed Prestebi, but now is named Witebi, &c." The place would not be called Prestebi for no reason. The obvious explanation is that one priest at least made his abode there. Of course the allottee might be a man named Prestr; but that is hardly likely, as neither the area nor the locality seem to give support to such a theory. It is quite within the range of probability that a priest, if not more than one, had already made his abode in the remains of the old Anglian Monastery.

But note also the parallel cases at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth. Symeon of Durham, giving an account of the journey of Aldwin, Elfwy and Reinfrid, says they came first to Munecaceastre, and thence, at Bishop Walcher's instance, proceeded to Jarrow, where he granted to them the Monastery of S. Paul the Apostle, originally built by Abbot Benedict, and this is his description of its condition:—"The walls were still standing, but roofless, and with scarcely any marks of their former grandeur about them." On these walls "they placed a roof of unshaped timbers and dry herbage, and straightway began therein to celebrate the offices of Divine Service. They made for themselves also a cabin (*casula*) beneath the said walls, wherein to eat and sleep, and lived a hard life on the alms of the religiously disposed."

Reinfrid (afterwards, it will be observed) the first Prior at Whitby, was one of the three named, and surely that which he had seen done, and had helped with his own hand in doing, at Jarrow, would not be without its practical influence and operation when he came to Whitby and had grant, with unconstrained power and licence to make the best he could of what was granted, of a place with its remains in a condition so precisely parallel to Jarrow and its roofless walls. There, too, unsquared timbers and thatch of rushes—the thatching-material used systematically by the monks in after ages, as still at this present day almost throughout this district—would be available in any quantity, and a hastily repaired church would be extemporised. In effect, this would, in no long time, when the earliest leisure of the gathering and earnest-minded community permitted, become a more carefully repaired or—to use a modern phrase—restored church, and, as such, practically, once more, a second stone church.

But it did not stand long in the greater seemliness of its restoration. For in the time of the second William—and we may attach confidence to the statement made to that effect, although we meet with it in an account of questionable accuracy in other points—"banditti and plunderers emerged from the woods and their lurking dens, and carried off all the goods of the Monastery, and laid the sacred place itself waste. Pirates also came and pitilessly ravaged and devastated the entire settlement."

And on this account it was that what I have called the retreat or retirement to the Hackness cell became compulsory.

However, the evil times of brigandage and piratical invasion passed away, more prosperous times dawned on the Monastery, the monks, with Serlo at their head, returned to the old and honoured site, building works were resumed, and this time, as we know, under the guidance and direction of Godfrey, "*Magister operis illius loci.*" Fifty years of peace and prosperity seem then to have been enjoyed by the Convent, and there can be no doubt whatever that the church which Architect Godfrey was employed upon had been long, so far as all the requirements of a monastic community—quite sufficiently exacting—were concerned, a completed building. And this then, continuing our former enumeration, was the third stone church; for less than a stone church will not meet the requirements. A *casula*, a mere cabin, in which to eat and sleep, might suffice the personal wants of the fraternity, but for the service and honour of God not a building that cost them nothing.

Passing onwards, and arriving at the end of the just named half century or so of peace and prosperity, we have this to note:—During the time of the first Abbot named Richard—that is from 1148 to 1175—"the King of Norway entered the port of Whitby with many ships, ransacked the goods of the monks, laid waste everything, both within doors and without; and, though he shed no blood, yet he carried off with him whatever he could find: so that they who, by the management of their Abbot, had grown very rich, now became very poor; the rapacious Norwegians having left them nothing."†

"Laid waste everything, both within doors and without,"—Architect Godfrey's Church, it stands to reason, as well as the rest—conventual buildings, granges or farm-buildings, and whatever there was to be ruined by violence or fire. Yes, but we have to wait until 1220 or thereabouts before the first stone of the Church, the grand remnant of which still greets our eyes, was laid. Fifty or sixty years then had elapsed since the ruinous visit of the Norwegians, and surely no one with the simplest thoughtful consideration of the question will propose to us to

† Leland, Coll. 1. p. 17 (quoted by Young, vol. 1. p. 264).

believe that during all those years of that architecturally wonderful period, the twelfth century, no church building was done at Whitby. Hinderwell, Egton, Danby, Ingleby Greenhow, Liverton, Easington, Faceby, Kirk-Levington, and an array of other churches throughout Cleveland, all raised, and many of them with much decorative detail, during that period, would put us to open shame if we did believe it: and two of the churches thus named were in point of fact dependencies on Whitby herself. So that we should have to assume that the Church of the 'House' itself was left in its meanness or disrepair, while those of mere appendages of the House were duly, reverently, or munificently cared for! Nay, the very parish Church of Whitby, which, as built at all, must be built by the Convent of course, was itself built from choir to nave during this same period. We must assume then the construction of another church, and necessarily a stone church, between say 1160 and 1220; and that is the fourth in our enumeration.

The absence of any fragments of moulded or carved stone, the remains of either of these previous churches, in the rubble of the existing ruins is a feature that has been dwelt upon, by the writer of the present notice as well as by others, and it certainly is a feature not to be passed by totally without notice. The absence of such stones is, however, not so total as has been assumed, inasmuch as in some of the fallen masses towards the western end of the church, stones marked with what are quite apparently Early-English mouldings may be detected in different parts of the rubble.† Still there is a remarkable absence of such stones in the more central and easternmost parts of the building, and especially of any stones that could have been used

† It is not in the least degree unlikely that these moulded stones had formed some part of the work connected with the temporary roof thrown over the three first bays of the nave. This roof will be more specifically noticed in a future paragraph. Obviously such a roof might and would be required for some length of time after the building operations of the third period (see below) had been originated, and to some considerable extent pushed forward. No doubt, also, it is quite possible that fragments of the material of a former building may form constituents of those large masses of ruin which lie covered with earth or herbage.

in a Norman building. If an observer inspects what is left of the other great Conventual Church of the district, namely, that of Guisborough Priory, he will not fail to have his attention arrested, in the course of the briefest examination, by the superabounding evidences that the materials of an earlier structure had been available to the builder, and in no niggardly quantity. He may not be aware that the Church was burnt down in 1289, but he will be forced to observe that destruction in some shape had preceded the building efforts of 1300. It is quite otherwise at Whitby.

Two or three suggestions may be offered, not as altogether explanatory of the circumstance under notice, but as possibly furnishing what may prove an occasion for explanation. In the first place, it is hardly likely that quite different sites would be adopted for these successive churches or chapels—perhaps a more appropriate mode of expression may be, that it is morally certain that the successive churches or chapels adverted to would all, practically, be built on the same site; the space of duly consecrated ground would religiously be adhered to, and partly no doubt because of the cemetery for the deceased inmates of the Monastery, as well as for the sake of the hallowed associations of the past times. But with such disasters successively, and at really such brief intervals, affecting not only their buildings but their material means, it is so far from unlikely that we may absolutely assume that the restored churches were simply such as the exigencies of divine service required, as regards dimensions, though no doubt rendered as seemly, and even as handsome and artistic as the means at the builders' command permitted. Even after years of unchecked prosperity, and with an able, energetic and popular Abbot at the head of the Convent, simply the choir of the existing church, with hardly a rood of mason-work beyond its limits was (as will be noted more particularly presently) all that was completed before the work which was destined to be eventually the wondrously beautiful Church of St. Peter and St. Hilda came to its first pause. Much more then, after such a harrying as that by the Norwegian king, the restored or rebuilt House of God might be by comparison small, and limited to just that part which was

adequate to the end in view; and, just as the contemporary choir of the Cathedral Church at York was singularly short, and narrow in proportion, and remained such until replaced by Archbishop Roger's chancel more than half-a-century later, so the choir or (so to speak) working-part of the last early church at Whitby may have been not only proportionably small and narrow, but so placed as to allow the structure, the remnant of which we are acquainted with, to be begun from the east end (as was the rule), and pushed forward until sufficiently advanced to be available for the celebration of the wonted services, without in the least interfering with the being or the utility of what we know must have been its, in a sense, make-shift predecessor. Nay, further yet, for illustration sake only, whoever has seen the last work done at Bolton Abbey before the Dissolution came upon the monasteries can realise in the homeliest way how reconstruction could be, and was, entirely consistent with the steady and stately continuance of the daily and nightly conventual services. Yet further, assuming that the Church built or reconstructed during the second third of the twelfth century was thus suffered to stand until the still existing choir was so far completed as to be ready for service, it tends, in a rather striking way, to explain the fact that no traces of any material used in a previous Norman structure should be found in the rubble of the said choir or near it; for the materials of the superseded and disused church, which would only be in the way if suffered to stand, would naturally be employed in such part of the domestic buildings as next came under the hand of the conventual architect, and might well be used up long before the next portion of the mason-work of the church was inaugurated.

However this may be, the Church which in part remains to the present day, in its stones yet preaching most eloquent sermons, was begun almost certainly very early in, or immediately before, the healthy times of Abbot Roger's presidency; and we may see for ourselves how the effort, a great and sustained one indeed, initiated and supported as it probably was by him, was maintained with unflinching energy, perhaps throughout most of his incumbency, until it resulted in the completion of the choir from base to roof, with its aisles, and with, it would seem, the two

easternmost legs of the tower, and the adjoining bays§ of the transepts north and south. The exact point, or line rather, at which this effort ceased can be seen as plainly as on the day which saw the last stone laid, in the east wall of the north transept; and beyond doubt the same limit precisely was attained in the case of the south transept also. This first of the great works of construction, or re-construction, may be safely dated, from the evidence of the style, as belonging to the period between 1218-20 and 1230-35.

There was then an appreciable pause or rest of from ten to fifteen years before any further addition was made to the structure. Roger de Scardeburgh had been Abbot from 122 $\frac{2}{3}$ to 1244, and beyond all question (as already stated) the great work of the choir was a part of what his energy and general popularity enabled him to accomplish; as to the rest, the very large amount of the grants of land and other valuable matters made to the Abbey of Whitby during his presidency is the best proof. He was succeeded by John de Steyngrave, a member of a family of considerable local influence and wealth, the head of which, in 1257, held large possessions|| in Yorkshire, besides other lands at Frisby in Lincolnshire, and was probably elder brother of the Abbot. He ruled from 1245 to 1258, and as the approximate date which must be assigned for the execution of the next portion of the constructive works at the Abbey tallies with singular exactitude—from 1245 to 1260—it is a matter of certainty that Abbot John II. was the personage under whose fostering care and direction the glorious north transept, together with the two western legs of the tower, and two and a-half bays of the nave (these last having the use of serving as an abutment to the rest of the work) were added to the structure

§ There is a difference in the mouldings of the arch of this first bay of the transept and in those of the two adjoining arches to the north, which should be noticed, and which, in conjunction with the manifest break in the masonry of the east wall of the transept close to its junction with the north wall of the choir, serves to indicate the complete limits of the extent reached in the first building period.

|| He had charter of free warren in 1257 in Stonegrave, Nunnington, Ness, Riccal, Waterholme and Newhaye, in the County of York.

as it was left by Abbot Roger. No doubt also the south transept and a like part of the nave on that side were completed at the same time. In this case again, starting from the definite line of cessation already noticed, and noting the progress westward, course by course as the mason-work proceeds, the line of discontinuance just to the westward of the opening for the third lancet in the nave is as plainly and definitely marked as in the case of the eastern wall of the north transept.

If corroboration of what is structurally so entirely apparent were required, it is found in a remarkable feature preserved in several of the engravings extant of the ruins, derived from drawings taken before the fall of the tower. For on the west side of the tower there is plainly seen the roof-table of what can only have been a tower and temporary roof, having for its *raison d'être* the necessity of covering in an incomplete, because an earlier, building. This roof-table shows that the roof which it indicates joined the tower at a point two or three feet above the apex of the tower arch, and runs parallel with its tangent on either side, almost but not quite in the same line with the line of roof which covered in the first three or rather two and a-half bays of the nave. Slightly above it there seems to have been a horizontal water-table, as if to supplement the weather-resisting power of this temporary roof, the pitch of which was very low in comparison with that of the final roof, the junction of the latter with the tower being marked as at the same height—a stage higher on the side of the tower—and of the same proportions with those of the transepts and the choir on the other three sides. The fact of a lower and flatter roof on the nave side of the tower can be interpreted but in one way; and that the way which is implied in terming it a temporary roof; and a temporary roof can have been required only under the circumstances noted in the preceding paragraphs.

There is then another pause or cessation, of from forty to fifty years in duration, before the next and final building effort is inaugurated, which it seems quite safe to date as having begun probably about, or a little before 1310, and as having continued certainly as late as 1325, and most likely, taking the upper (and destroyed) portion of the work into account, even

later.* During this period the five westernmost bays of the nave, with the west front, and, judging as well as we can from the old engravings of the Abbey, the low tower or lantern which stood upon the crossing of the transepts with the main body of the Church, were built.

One remark should be made here, and in connection with the term "insertion," which has been employed in reference to the work which is later than that of the thirteenth century. There is a very remarkable feature, which would seem to have escaped notice in such descriptions of the Abbey as have hitherto been given, observable at a point a little west of the third window of the north aisle of the nave, half-way, in point of fact, between it and the first of the five notable Decorated windows that

* Thomas de Malton was Abbot from 1304 to 1322, and he was succeeded by a member of a local family long connected with the Monastery, the first of whom (who, in fact, derived his territorial designation from the grant made to him by the Convent), Aschetil de Haukesgarth, was a feudatory of the Abbey,—namely, Thomas de Haukesgarth, who succeeded in September 1322, and resigned in 1354. The works of the third building period were commenced, it may be assumed with almost complete certainty, during the incumbency of the former, and were brought to completion during the earlier period of the presidency of the latter. And here it should be mentioned that we have one piece of evidence of great interest bearing, if not upon the works just mentioned, yet on others so closely connected with them in point of time and succession, that it is hard to suppose any actual cessation can have taken place. What is referred to is what is technically called a '*Litera quæstus pro fabrica Monasterii de Whitby*,' in more modern English, an Episcopal brief in aid of the fabric-fund of Whitby Monastery. It is dated the nones of October (7th Octr.) 1333, and at the outset it states that the Abbot and Convent have begun with pains and sumptuously to renew their Monastery for the comeliness of the House of the Lord, and that whereas the personal means of the said Abbot and Convent do not suffice for the completion of the works, he, the Archbishop of York, empowers a certain John de Lumby, specially appointed Procurator for such purpose by the Abbot and Convent, to receive the alms of the faithful throughout the City, Diocese and Province of York, in aid of the fabric of a work so sumptuous, and to exhibit the indulgences specially conceded in furtherance of the same. The brief was to be in force during one year, and the bearer was to have precedence over all other collectors and procurators, save only those of the Cathedral Church of York. In a marginal note, however, it is added that this letter was withdrawn on the 30th of the same month, so far as John de Lumby was concerned, or his substitutes or coadjutors. But the date is the point of chief interest.

succeed. The feature referred to was originally and, quite certainly, intentionally concealed† by the apposition of a buttress, which is now gone, and it depends upon an architectural necessity inherent in the style in which this third effort in the work of construction was carried out. The same amount of thickness of wall as in the three first bays west from the tower was not adequate to the exigencies of the mouldings of the window-arches in the new work, and consequently the wall of the nave from the point indicated, as it runs westward, is built somewhere about a foot and half thicker than the wall between it and the transept containing the three simple lancet windows. Inside, the line or plane of the wall is perfectly continuous; outside, the fourteenth century wall projects by the measure already indicated, but the break in continuity was skilfully and artistically concealed by the means already indicated.‡ Necessarily, it must be added, the idea of "insertion" is entirely incompatible with an architectural feature of such a description.

† It is noted in the plan of the Abbey given in the Ordnance map of the Town.

‡ "The windows," remarks Dr. Young, "in the modern part of the north wall of the nave have been large and beautiful. They have been four in number; and the space between the four,"—that is between the two to the east and the two to the west—"was faced with panels of another window of the same size and form. Beneath that panneling was a door-way, still tolerably entire. It has been between 5 and 6 feet wide, and between 8 and 9 feet high, including the tracery on the top of the arch. This door-way has opened into a porch on the north side of the nave, and from that porch there has been an entrance into a building on the east, which has extended in breadth from beside the door to the place where the modern part of the nave commences; so that the two large windows on that side of the door have looked into that building, and have not been exposed to the open air:.....that building was most likely the *chapter-house*, which had been rebuilt along with this portion of the nave. How far it extended outward from the wall of the nave has not been ascertained." (*Whitby*, p. 347). Dr. Young's surmise as to the nature of the external building, or indeed as to the existence of any such building at all, must be taken for what it is worth. The idea that two such windows gave only into some exterior building is not tenable in any connection. There is probably no doubt that there was a porch over this north door, which would account for one of the alleged walls. As to the other, which would have covered the joint of the two walls of different thicknesses as well as the buttress mentioned in the text, it must suffice to say there is not only no proof now that it ever existed, but no reason for suspecting its former existence.

That there are evidences of insertion it is of course not intended to deny, only that at present none exist to the eastward of the west front. Even a moderately good photograph is quite sufficient to show that the Perpendicular windows—the large one which formerly filled the space over the main entrance to the Church, and the other still existing on the north side of it, and which once lighted the north aisle of the nave—are simply “insertions.” The arches and some of the mouldings of arch and jamb of the older or Decorated windows originally there sufficiently attest the fact. Why or when these Perpendicular windows were inserted there is no evidence to show. Nothing, however, is more likely than that, in some fearful storm, damage to a very considerable extent may have been done to such large expanses of comparatively weak portions as such windows of a building placed in so exposed a position as that crowned by the Abbey Church; and no doubt such damage would be repaired in the prevailing style of the period.

Of those portions of the Abbey which have been destroyed for the sake of the materials, or have fallen under the rude assaults of tempest, and the more insidious but not less sure sappings of time and decay, it is unhappily impossible to speak with any certainty. There are engravings, it is true, taken from old drawings or pictures, but there can be no doubt that the drawings themselves in some or several cases, besides being architecturally inadequate and even grossly inaccurate, were made with little attention to that fidelity which alone could give them any true value in such an enquiry as the present one. The earliest of these is one dating from quite the early part of last century, and which, valuable as it would have been had it been even moderately faithful, is disfigured by such manifest blemishes and strange inaccuracies as to be comparatively but of little use. It purports to be a “North View.” It is in reality a view, taken from the south-west, of the south wall of the nave, together with a fragment of the south aisle of the same, and part of the arcade of the cloisters.

But the south wall of the aisle, as what is shewn really is, is, by a grotesque blunder, either of the draughtsman or engraver, made to join on to the south-west angle of the tower,

so that really it occupies the position of the eastern part of the south side of the nave, and so of course concealing the series of arches which supported the wall containing the clerestory. Besides this, it gives no trace of the still-existing south wall, with the clerestory and triforium, of the choir, while the triplets of the east front are drawn in a marvellously or even grotesquely distorted perspective. Much or most of the south transept appears to be still standing, and other buildings are shown both towards the east and west terminations of the Church, which can only be spoken of, so far as the drawing is concerned, as quite unintelligible as well as strangely out of perspective. But, notwithstanding, neither the drawing nor the distortion are without their value; for it is rendered abundantly evident that there was a building, the walls of which were not set rectangularly, just about the middle of the east wall of the cloister, eastward, that is to say, in the normal place of the Chapter-house. The self-evident presumption therefore is not only that the walls of the Chapter-house were still standing there in 1711, but that the Chapter-house itself had been an octagonal building similar to the contemporary Chapter-houses of Westminster and Salisbury. Some remains also of the arched passage across the south-end of the transept from the cloisters are likewise indicated in this engraving, which is thus seen to be of great interest. One other feature, moreover, is represented, which may probably be reasonably depended upon, and that is that the entire tier or row of clerestory windows of the south wall is shown as still in existence; but whether they belonged to the Decorated or Perpendicular styles of course cannot be authoritatively decided from such a representation. §

§ Mr. F. K. Robinson writes of this print as follows:—"In regarding the Abbey Church as a whole we are enabled to supply the parts that are wanting by referring to a print of the ruins published by Buck in 1711. And, first, the South Transept with its one large window filling the front of the gable, the mullions gone, but retaining remnants within the arch of geometrical tracery." This may possibly be correct, but it is hard to fix such a point from such a drawing. Next, "a square buttress in one stage from top to bottom, surmounted by a four-sided pyramid, supports the eastern corner, and of corresponding height at the western corner, a bell gable appears with openings for two bells." Again, one can only say the print is so strangely out of drawing that it is hard to under-

There is another drawing dating 1763, and a third in 1780, each of which gives some details connected with the south transept, but of such a character as to be quite inconsistent with each other. Thus the drawing of 1773 shows the south front of the transept as gone, that of 1780 represents it as still there; besides which there is a confusion between doors and windows which is utterly perplexing. So far, however, as any safe inference can be made from such sources of information, the architectural details, whether arising from insertions or reconstruction, would appear to be entirely different from those of the north transept. Large lights of a much later date on the west side would appear to have replaced the graceful lights which deck the corresponding side of the northern counterpart, and a large Decorated window almost certainly filled the south-front. Originally, from the one column which still remains, the inference is safe that no material difference obtained between the design and the execution of the two transepts. Possibly the south transept may have been somewhat the less rich of the two.

This surmise is ventured on the fairly certain hypothesis that the central bay of the north transept aisle, according to an arrangement by no means unusual in large churches where there was no special Lady-chapel, may have been appropriated to the altar specially dedicated to the Virgin's honour and service. || Young, in a note on the partly destroyed inscription on the north stand, but possibly Mr. Robinson may interpret it correctly. Then he proceeds—"Westward from the Tower we have the whole of the nave in eight bays or divisions. The Clearstorey has eight mullioned windows of the perpendicular kind; and a similar but smaller range occurs below for the aisles." This is pure imagination. The windows as delineated are circular-headed with no semblance even of transom, mullions or tracery; and only what might be supposed to be meant for a thin iron rod or two drawn vertically from sill to arch in their place. "The Cloisters," he continues, "as piazzas around a square area, have joined the south side of the nave..... Further, a covered passage extended from the cloisters across the base of the transept to a one-storied structure against the east side of it, which may have been the Chapter-house," a statement which, it will be seen, is pushed somewhat further in the preceding text.

|| The other, or northern, bay would of course also have its own altar, as would also necessarily the corresponding two bays of the south transept. The innermost bay in each, forming part of the aisle, or procession-part of the choir, naturally had none.

column in this transept, says (apparently in ignorance of the arrangement just named) "we can easily suppose that an altar was erected to the honour of the Virgin Mary in the aisle of this transept." There is no question as to the fact that an altar, with its adjuncts of aumbry and piscina, has stood there, and assuming it to have been dedicated to Our Lady it might be possible, out of the three imperfect or unsatisfactory readings of the inscription just named, which have been recorded, to construct one which may be reasonable. Two of these readings coincide as far as "*Johannes de Brompton quondam famulus Dei in hoc,*" after which "*monasterio,*" given in Charlton, may be fitly supplied, and after that the choice will lie between "*has columnas erexit,*" and "*hunc thureum extruxit,*" or "*hoc altarium extruxit,*" "*in metum et honorem Virginis Beatæ Mariæ ;*" or "*in perpetuum honorem Virginis Beatæ Mariæ.*" "*Thureum*" is inadmissible, and "*in perpetuum honorem*" is preferable to "*in metum et honorem.*" So that the entire reading might be "*Johannes de Brompton, quondam famulus Dei in hoc monasterio, hoc altarium extruxit in perpetuum honorem Virginis Beatæ Mariæ.*"

There is another point which it may be well to advert to in this place. In a view of the Abbey, "drawn and engraved by J. Bird," which is inserted in Young's History, the upper part of the gable of the east front is represented as in an exceedingly dilapidated condition. In a careful drawing by Gastineau (of about 1824-25) of the interior of the choir seen through the arches of the still standing tower, there appears what seems to be an artist's 'restoration' of the uppermost triplet, with a light above (but in continuation of) the light in the centre. If our attention is thus (or otherwise) drawn to the present condition of that part of the ruin, whether on the spot or by aid of a good photograph, while the triplet in question by comparison seems to be in fairly good condition on the outside, within it gives unmistakeable evidences of having been—not restored, but—built up, and on the same principle, or rather in the self-same mode, as the square supporting pillars of masonry which sustain several of the triforium arches in the choir.

Closer inspection, however, reveals the presence on the south side of a fragment of moulding, evidently the springer of the

arch of the outside light of the triplet on that side, and there is enough in this fragment of rich moulding of the inside of the mutilated lancet to show that the whole interior of these lights has been richly decorated—more richly decorated indeed than the large window below. This is made fully apparent by Sharpe's restored drawing which, it is unnecessary to say, was most carefully measured and drawn from the existing fragments; and, further, by drawings made and engraved in 1817 for Dugdale's "Monasticon," in which there is seen delineated in perspective precisely what is seen drawn in elevation in Sharpe's plate of the interior of the east end of the choir as regards the upper triplet of lancets—that is to say, the interior arches, each springing from its triple cluster of shafts, are seen to be, particularly the middle one, much lower than the arches of the exterior opening; while, in addition to this, the sloping sills of the exterior or glass-receiving openings are very distinctly elevated above the sills of the interior openings. It is not very easy by means of verbal description only to convey a clear conception of what is first mentioned here—namely, that the exterior openings are seen to be much higher than those in the inside. But it is quite clear, in the first place, that there has been an inner or, so to speak, lining wall, which originally, of course, shut out all appearance of any opening above that of the inner arches. A portion of it still appears, in these engravings, *in situ* above the inner arch of the central light, while it has entirely disappeared, through the working of decay and ruin, from above the mouldings of the two arches, one on either side. In fact, one sees quite clearly from the engravings under notice, which were beyond question carefully executed from carefully-made drawings, that there had been an interspace, or passage, analogous to the passages across the windows of the clerestory, between the inner and outer openings of these lancets, with tooled faces on each side of both walls, and that the inner wall having been the first to yield to the destructive forces in operation, the still perfect lancets in the outer wall (which had in reality framed the glazing of the windows) had been thus rendered visible from the floor of the church beneath the tower from whence the view had been taken. In the view by Gastineau, which was taken

between the date of those engravings and the fall of the tower in 1830, the remaining portion of the inner (or lining) wall, mentioned above as still to be seen above the central inner arch, is gone, and the picture presents (as noted on our last page) the, at first sight, somewhat unintelligible representation of a lancet window divided in the middle by the head of another lancet, in the case of each light in the triplet. It is impossible for any one paying any amount of attention to what is thus delineated in these drawings of 1817 and somewhat later, to come to any other conclusion than that this upper triplet was designed and executed with a view to its being seen from the floor of the church.

This would appear to be altogether inconsistent with the idea of a flat ceiling, or even a canted ceiling, covering the choir of the Abbey Church and concealing, or, at best, cutting across all the richness of detail noted above. Mouldings so elaborate and decoration so rich can scarcely have been intended to be relegated to a dark garret;* for, in point of fact, a canted ceiling would only just have cleared the heads of the three great lancets below.

But that is not all. There are, in point of fact, as just noted, two levels indicated in these restored lancets, that of the base of the glass lights, and that of the inner opening next the choir of the church, the former being raised considerably above the latter. And for this reason—that being placed so high, and having to be viewed, not on a level but from the floor, the thickness of the wall would, by the law of perspective, have prevented the lower part of the glass from being seen had it been brought down equally low; and therefore

* There is a case in point at Rievaulx Abbey which may be quoted here in illustration. There are triplets of lancet lights there which on the exterior, although the rule at Cistercian Abbeys was plainness rather than elaborate ornamentation, are richly decorated. The interior of the same windows merely shows simply chamfered edges; the explanation being that, being above the vaulting, these portions could not be seen, and they were therefore left as plain as possible. Besides this, too, it will be seen that, unlike the triplets at Whitby, the glazed part of the windows comes down to the bottom, or top of the vaulting, the only position from which it could be seen.

it was lifted up to just such a height as would bring it within the line of sight of those who were down below.

Yet further. In *elevation*, as the window is shown in Sharpe's view, only about half of the lower part of the side light appears below the arched headings which cut the light in two; an arrangement which would never have occurred had the window been intended to be seen on a level with the eye, but which is perfectly reasonable and proper when the point of view is lowered to the floor of the choir, from which the whole of the glazing would be visible in perspective.

Yet once again. One cannot fail to be struck with the very remarkable difference in the plan of this uppermost triplet, internally and externally, the side lights in the interior being so excessively low in comparison with the glazed or external ones. And why this difference? It is hard, indeed, to suggest any reason save one, and one only, namely, to admit of the main timbers or principals of an open roof clearing the richly moulded arches, which, had they been arranged in the same form as on the outside, they would have cut into and concealed.

Taking all these matters into consideration there seems to be an accumulation of proof that the upper triplet in the east gable was not only intended to be seen from the inside of the church, but that the roof also was open,† its timbers being so arranged as exactly to fit the shape of this window, which they framed in a perfectly symmetrical manner. In other words, it may be seen that there was not, that indeed there could not have been, a ceiling of any kind whatever, inasmuch as, had there been, it must have put the whole of this admirably contrived design out of sight, and rendered it of none effect.

A few words touching the tower will not be out of place here. From the many prints and drawings yet extant, the dates of which range from the beginning of last century almost up to the eve of its fall, and from the written descriptions

† A further proof that there was not a flat ceiling, but an open timbered roof permitting full vision of all the interior details of those rich windows, may be found in the still perfect gable of the transept, which shows that there, most certainly, such a feature as a ceiling was impossible, for it would have cut completely through the uppermost triplet.

proceeding from the pen of not a few of such as have taken in hand to give an account of the antiquities and other matters of interest in Whitby and its vicinity, we are not left in any uncertainty as to its appearance, dimensions and general character. There can be no doubt that it was eminently suited to the place it had to fill. Of no great altitude in itself, † overtopping the ridges of the roofs which met its four sides with no great pre-eminence, massive and firm rather than imposing or grand, it exposed but little indeed to the fury of the blasts which rush over the site with a violence little realised by the ordinary visitor. The description by Mr. H. W. Benson in his *Ichno-graphy of Whitby Abbey* is perhaps as much to the point as any that can be selected from its other historians' writings, and the date of this description precedes that of the fall of the tower by only two years or so. "The four great arches of the tower," he says, "rise the whole height of the upright of the choir, and over them is the first story of the tower, round which runs a gallery, lighted from without by four massy plain windows, divided into two lights by mullions, with quatrefoils above the intersections; and from within by windows of the same size but without the quatrefoils. The upper story of the tower consists of a range of three windows on each side, some of which are pierced; the middle one is divided into three portions by stone mullions, and the outer ones into two, having trefoils above the intersection. One of the windows in this story, on the south side, consists of a triple arch within a Gothic arch, similar to those in the body of the Temple Church, London. I have not been able to discover another like it in the building."

It may be added that each of the four arches into the tower was finely moulded within, and enriched with dogs-tooth pattern

† Its height is said to have been 104 feet, and as restored by Mr. F. K. Robinson, it is seen to surmount the roofs of the nave, choir and transepts simply by the short stage required to contain the lantern of which the upper part consisted, and it seems to have been finished off with a square and massive moulding without battlements. It may be added that in Mr. Robinson's restoration the four roofs just named are made to fit themselves precisely according to the indications given by the roof-tables spoken of as shewn in all the prints of the Abbey taken while the tower was still standing.

besides; while a corresponding string-moulding runs round the interior of the tower just above the crowns of the arches, and a second just below the tiers of triple windows, proving beyond doubt that the lantern was open to the church. And while all this makes it quite certain that no bells ever hung there, it is to be noticed that a bell-gable, with openings for two bells, is shown in Buck's print as furnishing a finish to a corner-turret at the south-west angle of the south transept.

One other extract from the book of a man who remembered the tower well, and the catastrophe of its fall. "The Tower fell on a calm day, June 25, 1830. The pillar at the South-east corner had long been cracked, and as a further weakness, the staircase § within it may be recollected as approached from the South transept." The marvel is that it stood so long. Robbed of its leaden covering soon after the dissolution in 1540, made subject to a multiplied force of decay, on four sides and

§ It would seem to be impossible to accept Mr. Robinson's testimony in this case. There can scarcely have been a newel staircase within one of the supporting columns, or legs of the tower. The probable system of communication at the higher levels, between the several parts of the choir would be, in the first place (as in the contemporary choir at Rievaulx) a staircase contrived in the south-east angle of the south aisle which gave access to the triforium. Thence a door-way in the southern flanking turret of the great gable (which, like that to the north was solid below, but contained newel stairs above the triforium level) opened upon the foot of that stair; a second, at the same level, admitting to the passage which crossed the east end immediately above the lower and below the upper of the great eastern triplets. This passage put the two triforia into direct and immediate connection. Ascending either turret a third doorway opened into the pierced passage-way of the clerestory. A few steps higher the summit of either stair was reached. Two doorways again, at the same level, opened, the one to the parapet walks outside the roof, the other to the passage which crossed at the foot of the uppermost or gable triplet, and so put both sides of the building in connection again at the highest stage. It may be added that at Guisborough, which is contemporary with the last five bays west of Whitby nave, there was a double access to the upper parts—one at the east end of either aisle; as was also the case in the contemporary choir of Selby, and the somewhat later one of Howden. It should be noted, however, that in the tracing of the ground-plan of the Abbey in the 25-inch map of the Town of Whitby the staircase is put—on what grounds is not known, but probably to match the corresponding one in the north transept—not in the south-eastern but in the south-western angle of the south transept.

both within and without, from the ruin of the roofs of nave, transept and choir laying it bare to the violence of elemental warfare on all sides—what a striking testimony it gives, by its endurance of all through near three centuries, to the surpassing excellence and honesty alike of the material and the workmanship! It is a strange commentary that is afforded by the contrast between those mighty masses of fallen masonry with their rubble, as compact as living rock, and the joints of the encasing ashlar as close almost as on the day which saw the one course laid on the other nearly six hundred years ago, and notwithstanding the terrible shock of their fall,—and the budging walls, gaping joints, mouldering pointing of too many, by comparison, right modern buildings!

But it is not simply the tenacious endurance and massive solidity of the mere mechanical mason-work which appeals to our sense of admiration, the limitless variety effected in the arrangement of the courses, in the proportions and placing of the separate stones composing them, in the wonderfully effective contrast of colour, always pleasing, brought about by a careful and strangely well-ordered employment of stone of varied hue, and probably derived from different quarries, is a source of endless satisfaction to the beholder's eye. Things that the modern builder, and even not a few of the self-dubbed architects of the day, think beneath their notice, which perhaps they never condescend to give a thought to, are in this almost matchless building made a fruitful and abiding source of absolute pleasure to the attentive eye; a pleasure none the less real because spontaneous—because it originates without conscious enquiry or search for its causes in the spectator's mind.

A few words may be added in the way of notice of the peculiarities of the ground plan. The most cursory observation shows that the axis or medial line of the choir is not coincident with that of the nave, that the general direction of the nave diverges much from that of the choir. Young remarks that "the nave is not in a straight line with the choir, but diverges about five degrees towards the north: so that, at the west end of the building, the north wall is ten feet out of the line of the north wall of the choir," while Robinson says "the nave is not in a

straight line with the choir, but exhibits a deflection at the west end of 9 feet towards the north." The true deflection may perhaps be better represented by a comparison of the directions of the two lines according to the compass, and these directions are for the choir nearly S.E. by E and N.W. by W, and for the nave almost E.S.E. and W.N.W., or more approximately still the E and W line being denoted by the angle 90° the angle of the choir is nearly $62^{\circ}5$, and that of the nave $57^{\circ}5$. By actual observation, however, the axis of the nave diverges from true E and W by $14^{\circ}5$, and that of the choir by $9^{\circ}7$; while according to the lines of the Ordnance map of the Town (which are not, however, drawn exactly due N and S, and E and W) the divergences are approximately 11° and 6° .

This peculiarity is not by any means confined to Whitby Abbey Church, nor is it altogether an unusual one, and indeed not a few other instances have been recorded. And, as may be expected, there are diverse explanations suggested for it. Among these are, that the deflection of the choir is intended to typify the declining of our Saviour's head on his shoulder when he expired on the cross; that the one line represents the direction of the sun's first beams on the morning of the day of the Saint to whom the church was dedicated, or that of the first beam on the day of the actual foundation of the church, and the other that of (it is to be presumed) true East and West. Probably had there been any valid foundation for either of these notions some trace of its existence would have been met with in ancient writings, or at all events, as regards the latter two, in the consenting testimony of repeated and wide-spread observation. But no proof of this sort has been hitherto alleged in such form or to such extent as to be in the least degree convincing.

Another supposition has also been put forward; namely, that the irregularity noted is due simply to the heedless or inexact measurements of the workmen, or even of the plans of the master-builder||. The suggestions hardly seems to merit deliberate consideration.

|| The writer heard this theory started 37 years ago in Scarborough Church, where a similar feature is observable, when plans for the restoration of that building were being projected.

There is however another feature in the structural arrangement of the Abbey Church of Whitby which may possibly be not without bearing upon the question—"Why was the building so planned that the axes of the nave and the choir were not in the same straight line?"

For that it was so planned requires no elaborate proof: a simple narrative of facts suffices to that end. As has been already noted, the inceptive building effort was sustained until the choir with its aisles, the two easternmost legs of the tower with the adjoining bays of either aisle, and a few feet of the east wall of the north transept (and presumably also, of course, as much of the south transept) were completed. When the second building-period arrived the work was resumed at the points thus indicated and carried on until the two transepts, the tower up to above the arches into it from choir, transepts and nave, and the first two bays and half of the nave and its aisles were finished. But just as the builders of the first epoch settled the line of their work for the builders of the second period by setting out two of the pillars of the tower, with the adjoining bays, and the return of the east walls of the transepts, so those of the second period settled the line of their work for the builders of the third period, by setting the north wall of the aisle of the nave at an angle less than a right angle with the west wall of the north transept.* This must have been done deliberately, or with set purpose and intention. So simple a matter as setting one wall at right angles with another can in no way be supposed to have been a matter of uncertainty in the case of such architects and such masons.

We assume then that it was done of set purpose, and of course with an intention, or object and design. And then we have to notice this further,—that the wall with which the wall of the aisle makes an angle less than a right angle is not symmetrical with the wall on the opposite side. This again is a fact. The west wall of the north transept is longer than the east wall of the same by nearly the thickness of the wall of the north aisle. In other words this west

* This being so with the wall of the north aisle of the nave relatively to the west wall of the north transept, it is of necessity assumed that a corresponding deviation from the rectangular form—or in other words, in this case an angle greater than a right angle in the same proportion as the other was less—was made on the south side also.

wall projects from a foot upwards into what should have been, according to ordinary rule, the unbroken vista of the aisle of the nave as seen from that of the choir.

Now it is still less possible that this should have occurred as the result of carelessness, or a blunder on the part of the workmen or director, than the structural blunder of a wrong angle. The occurrence of two such blunders or unintentional mis-measurements is simply inconceivable. Both of them, it may also be remarked, must have been detected a hundred times over before it became too late to remedy them, if unintentional. But they were allowed to remain, and we assume they were from the first intended to remain.

So far the matter is easy, and our course plain; but when it is attempted to advance further and to seek for an explanation, to endeavour to penetrate to the design or intention of those who planned and built the church thus, very real, if not insurmountable, difficulties stand in the way. If the building was still standing as it used to stand in all its wondrous beauty and soaring grandeur, a solution might possibly be found, at all events by a skilled or educated eye. Even as it is, it is conceivable that some effect depending on perspective was aimed at, and no doubt attained. It has been already remarked that the church was not a large one, rather the contrary. Its utmost length inside from end to end was some feet less than three hundred; and yet the effect produced upon the observer in the maimed and scanty portion left is much as if it had been as large again by half. Quite possibly the intentionally interrupted line of nave as seen from choir and crossing, or of choir as seen from nave, may have been designed to aid harmoniously in producing a like effect as to vista and area that was, and is, produced in other respects by the extant walls as they yet stand. This is conjecture, necessarily; but so are the somewhat fantastic idea of the symbolising of a drooping head, or the suggestion of a sunbeam which, at the best, accounts for the direction but of one out of two divergent lines.†

I mention but one other fact in connection with the subject

† If the direction of one of these two lines were always fixed it might be different. But no proof is alleged that the case is so. At Whitby the case is certainly otherwise, indeed much otherwise.

thus far dealt with; and that is, that the axis of the Parish Church close by, which must have been built in the latter part of the twelfth century, is exactly parallel with that of the choir of the Abbey Church. The Parish Church is dedicated to St. Mary, the Abbey Church having been dedicated to Saints Peter and Hilda.†

It remains but to notice the dimensions of the Abbey Church and to give a very short and unscientific notice of its more salient architectural characteristics. It seems somewhat remarkable that the measurements of the building as given by different authorities should not be coincident. But it may be remarked that in a building, two several parts of which are not, in the direction of their length, in the same straight line, it is possible that two modes of measurement may be adopted—the one, that of taking the direct length from end to end without noting the divergence of direction referred to, the other by measuring, from the same limits at either extremity, each divergent line to the point of intersection, in which case the latter measure would obviously be the longer. Premising this, we may note the measurements giving by Young, giving some of those by other authorities, for comparison, before finally dismissing the subject. “The dimensions of the Abbey Church are as follows:—Outside: Length, from the western extremity to the buttresses of the transept—140 feet: across the transept (buttresses included)—65 feet: from thence to the eastern extremity—105 feet: total length without—310 feet. Breadth—from the extremity of the north transept to the north buttresses of the choir—38 feet: across the choir (buttresses included)—77 feet: and, if the south transept, which is gone, was equal to the north, the total breadth on the outside, must have been—153 feet. Inside: Length, from the west gate to the central tower, being the extent of the nave—137 feet: across the tower, including half the diameter of the pillars on each side—33 feet 6 inches: from thence to the east-end of the choir—116 feet: total length within—286 feet 6 inches. Breadth of the body of the choir, including half the thickness of the pillars on each side—33 feet 8

† This fact effectually disposes of any theory connected with sun-rise on the days of the Saints to whom the churches were severally dedicated.

inches: breadth of the aisle on the north side of the choir—14 feet 4 inches: so that, if the south aisle corresponded with the north, the whole breadth of the choir within was—62 feet 4 inches. The breadth of the nave and its aisles cannot be so exactly given, the pillars, as well as the south wall, having all fallen; but their dimensions were probably the same with those of the choir and its aisles. The north transept measures, from its north wall to the inside of the north wall of the choir—37 feet 8 inches; and if the opposite transept was of the same extent, the extreme breadth within, from the north wall of the one transept to the south wall of the other, must have been—137 feet 8 inches. The breadth of the body of the north transept is—30 feet 8 inches; its aisle, which is on the east side—14 feet 8 inches; total breadth—45 feet. Each of the four pillars of the tower is 25 feet 4 inches in circumference; each of the others pillars—15 feet 4 inches. Each of the four large arches of the tower—about 60 feet high, which is also the height of its walls: the total height of the tower—104 feet. Breadth of the great west gate—9 feet 6 inches, which is about half its height. The west front has extended about 84 feet, including the buttresses, which project 8 feet. The buttresses of the choir project 5 feet 3 inches.”§

According to Sharpe's plan the total length of nave and choir together is 291 feet, as against Young's 286 feet 6 inches; of the transept, 135 feet 8 inches, Young's measure being two feet more. Breadth of the nave 60 feet 9 inches; of the transept and aisle 45 feet 6 inches, against Young's 45 feet; and of the choir 62 feet 8 inches, or 4 inches in excess of Young's. A part of the choir is given by Sharpe on a larger scale than his plan of the whole church and on this his measures are—full breadth of the choir 62 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; of central part of the same to centre of walls, 33 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; of aisles, from outer wall-face to centre of main wall, 14 feet 7 inches; of aisle proper, 12 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches; of main walls, 4 feet 5 inches; of arcades, from centre to centre of pillars (beginning at the east), 16 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, 17 feet, 17 feet, 16 feet 10 inches, and 16 feet 5 inches.

The western bay, which is governed by the breadth of the

transept aisle, is not given, as it is beyond the limits of the plan ; but it is a good deal narrower than the rest. The gradual way in which the spaces are contracted, as shewn in the series of measures last given, should be noticed, such divergence from mathematical accuracy giving, as it does, such infinite variety and beauty to the best mediæval work, and affording so marked a contrast to the feeble monotony observable in so many modern buildings, in which all the parts might have been cast out of a common mould.

The late Mr. King writes thus of the general architectural features of the Abbey:—“The choir (Early English, but retaining a Transitional character) is the earliest portion. The north transept is also Early English, but of a later date, and the nave is rich Decorated.* The triforium of the choir (a circular arch, enclosing two pointed arches, each of which is again subdivided) should be compared with those of Early English date at York and in the choir of Rievaulx. It extended over the aisles. The East end, square, with three tiers of three lancets, the uppermost rising into the gable, is fine ; and the foiled openings (not quite piercing the wall) between the lancets of the lowest tier are worth notice.† All the choir-work is much enriched with dogtooth.In the north transept the window-mouldings show large open flowers (lilies), differing east and west.....One pier alone of the south transept is standing. In the nave the three easternmost windows are Early English, the others Decorated, of a somewhat peculiar design, recalling the “Kentish tracery” of Chartham and Mayfield.‡ In the west gable of the north aisle is a small and curious lozenge-shaped window, of the same date. Outside the

|| Murray's *Handbook for Yorkshire*, p. 215.

* This is too sweeping. The first three bays, west of the tower, being (as noted above) of the same date with the transept. Mr. King himself notes this afterwards.

† The same feature is, or has been, observable in other parts of the choir, as is disclosed by more than one of the more careful drawings referred to at a previous page.

‡ I am indebted to the kindness of an architectural friend (to whom the whole of the present section has been submitted) for the following notes on these windows:—“With respect to the Decorated windows the following may be cited among similar examples more or less contemporaneous: the

ruins, remark, in the choir, the clerestory windows with heads at their corbel stones ; the pinnacle-capped buttresses of the north transept, much enriched with canopied niches ; and the whole north front."

One paragraph is omitted in the above extract, which is given because, though short, it is sufficiently to the point as well as accurate. It is—"there is some trace of a screen between the two first piers from the east" (in the choir, namely), "and perhaps the shrine of St. Hilda stood here, if her relics were ever brought back from Glastonbury." Mr. Robinson, moreover, writes §—"At the distance of one arch from the east end of the choir, the pillars indicate a skreen for the High Altar." I am unable to agree with either of these writers. Certainly the "indications" on the pillars are there, and what they indicate seems to be that some sort of wood-work was affixed, in some way, to or between the pillars so marked. But the indications certainly point to fixtures extending laterally (or longitudinally), not crossways as a screen must have done. The simplest and most obvious, and I think the most probable, suggestion is that the indentations in the stone-work under notice were connected with the erection and arrangement of the stalls for the monks, or it might be for the especial stall of the Abbot|| himself.

side and east windows of the chancel of Chartham Church, Kent, the former of two, the latter of four lights. These, however, are somewhat earlier than those at Whitby, and may be dated about 1290. *Examples somewhat later occur at Billingborough, Lincolnshire, and Great Bedwyn, Wiltshire, the latter being pretty certainly of about 1320, since the tomb of Sir Adam de Stock, which forms an integral part of the mortuary chapel in which the window is found, is constructed immediately beneath it, and he died in 1312. The chapel was probably built by his son, Sir Roger de Stock, who died in 1335; so that we get the date pretty accurately."

§ *Whitby and its Vicinity*, p. 78.

|| It may be remarked that in the record in Archbishop Melton's Register of the formal proceedings connected with the election of Thomas de Haukesgarth as Abbot, on the resignation of Thomas de Malton in 1323, copy is given of a mandate to the Official of the Archdeacon of Cleveland that he "should duly assign to the said newly-appointed Abbot his stall in the choir and his place in the chapter-house (stallum in choro et locum in capitulo)." A copy of the entire record is printed in the *Whitby Charters*, Vol. ii., p. 647.

One other extract bearing on part of the architectural features of the ruins yet extant, and this portion of our notice of the Abbey Church must come to a close. Dr. Young remarks that "in the choir a great part of the vaulted roof still remains. In the eastern parts, the intersection of the groins is plain, but in the western extremity, which has perhaps undergone some alterations, there are keystones finely carved. On one is a lion rampant, on another an indistinct figure which may have been a lamb, a third seems to have been two fishes, and a fourth has only foliage or flowers. The brackets from which the arches spring, in this aisle, are in the form of flowers; but those in the aisle of the north transept, and in that part of the nave which is of the same age, are grotesque human figures* supporting the arches on their shoulders. The upper part of the choir is ornamented with a multitude of heads of a different form, placed in various situations."

Any remarks on the probable position of the other portions of the conventual buildings besides the chapter-house and cloisters would be too much of the nature of guess-work to be adventured here.†

* I am scarcely able to assent to this. Mutilated as the figures referred to are it would appear that they have represented quadrupeds, not human beings. At the same time it is but fair to say that, in Dr. Young's day, they may have been easier to identify than they are now. There are too many traces about the Abbey of even comparatively recent Vandalism.

† It is said that the present manor-house stands on the site, and embraces part of the buildings, of the ancient Abbot's house or lodge.



CHAPTER VI.

Glimpses of the Ancient Inhabitants, their Condition and its Incidents.

Dr. YOUNG begins his History of Whitby with the sentence—“Who were the first inhabitants of this district, or of any other part of Britain, it would be fruitless to enquire.” The sentence is fully as true still as it was when Dr. Young wrote it, although perhaps no historical writer now would pen the sentence with the same thoughts in his mind, or the intention of expressing such thoughts, as in Dr. Young’s case. For quite possibly “the first inhabitants of the district,” in the Whitby Historian’s mind, would but imply the occupants of some five and thirty or forty centuries back, while in a modern writer’s mind the idea might well be of the inhabitants of a pre-glacial epoch.

The advance, however, of modern scientific enquiry has made some matters much less obscure than they were at the beginning of the present century, and among them many particulars concerning the racial variation, the condition, the habits, and even the aspect or appearance of the pre-historic occupants of our northern district.

That there were two races in successive occupation of, or successively dominant in, different parts of Eastern Yorkshire, in pre-historic times, is a matter of ascertained knowledge—namely, an earlier long-headed people, and a later round-headed race. It is true there are no tangible remains tending to prove that the long-heads were in occupation in Cleveland, such as have been met with in the Wolds district, and more largely still in other parts of the kingdom; but the presumption that Cleveland and its vicinity were not likely to be unoccupied throughout the long period of long-head dominancy is so strong that it is a matter

almost to be taken for granted. And Canon Greenwell's conclusion is that the "earlier long-headed people were intruded upon by a round-headed one. This brachy-cephalic race must have arrived from the opposite shores of the continent."† Dealing with the same subject, he continues—"By far the larger number of skulls which have been recovered from the barrows and cists of the greater part of Britain are brachy-cephalic..... If we are to judge from the barrows themselves, the long-headed people who buried in the long barrows must have been more numerous in some other parts of England than on the Wolds, as for instance in Wiltshire and the adjoining country, where sepulchral mounds of this shape are much more plentiful than they are in East Yorkshire. On the other hand, the dolicho-cephalic head is far more abundant in the round barrows of the Wolds than in the similar-shaped mounds of the South-west of England. The conclusion then at which we seem to arrive appears to be this—that the earlier long-headed people were more completely eradicated by the intrusive round-heads in Wiltshire than they were in East Yorkshire, unless (which is not probable) the balance in the latter country was restored by later immigrations of the dolicho-cephalic people."

Assuming then, as the result of much and very exact and pains-taking examination and comparison, that the population of East Yorkshire, after the invasion or immigration of the round-heads was made up of "two stocks of people, having characteristic features of the most distinctive kind," and, that is to say, at the time when the almost countless barrows on the Cleveland moors were in process of construction—in rough numbers twenty eight to twenty-two centuries ago—it is a matter of some interest to us to enquire as to what is known of the relative appearance of these races, or of their common modes of existence, habit, thought, or development. And this is the testimony that is forthcoming—"The long-headed people does not seem to have been either so tall or so strongly made as the other. The average height of the first may be taken to be about 5ft. 6in.: that of the other as about an inch more. The dolicho-cephalic people were also of a somewhat softer outline, in all the features

† *British Barrows*, p. 126.

of the head and face, than the more rugged brachy-cephalic people. The cheek-bones are by no means prominent, nor, as a rule, are the supraciliary ridges so much or so early developed as in the round-headed skull, both of which features would make the face soft in its expression. The forehead is of an average height and breadth, rather higher than broad, however, in its general proportions. The head is long, as indeed the name given to it implies, and has the parietal bones quite rounded off. The occipital region of the skull is prolonged in a marked degree, and adds much to the lengthened appearance of the head. Taken as a whole, it may be said that regularity and smoothness of outline is the main characteristic; and that those prominences are wanting which must have given such a harshness of feature to the brachy-cephalic head.

"This differs, in almost every particular, from that just described. The lower jaw is massive, and in a certain degree square at the chin. The malar (or cheek) bones are prominent, and the supraciliary ridges strongly and early marked; thus affording, in the rugged and fierce expression which the face must have presented, a strong contrast to the pleasing appearance of the other people. The forehead is broad, though not low. The head is remarkably short and square. The occiput is so much flattened as to have suggested to some that it is due to an artificial process, such as the habit of placing the infant with its head resting at the back against a board or some other contrivance; or to the child having been carried for long during the period of infancy. The skull of both types is capacious, and the different parts are well balanced; nor is there anything in it to lead to the belief that either people was wanting in mental power."

But there is another fact calling for our attention in connection with this subject, and that is, that, while "the inhabitants of Britain at the time of the use of round-barrow burial, before the introduction of iron, were of a markedly brachy-cephalic type," still in the Early Iron Age, so far as observation has advanced, the skull-form seems to have been dolicho-cephalic. This condition may have been brought about, and probably was, by the fact that the intruding round-headed people, smaller

as they may have been in number, "were gradually absorbed by the earlier and more numerous race whom, by force of one advantage or another, they had overcome. This subdued long-headed people may very possibly, in the earlier times of the conquest, have been kept in a servile condition, and therefore were not interred in the barrows, the place of sepulture reserved for the ruling race by whom they were held in subjection; and hence the numerical superiority of brachy-cephalic heads in the barrows. But as time went on and intermixture between the two peoples became common, a change would gradually take place in the racial characteristics, until at length the features of the more numerous body, that is to say the dolicho-cephalic, would become the permanent type of the united people."

It may seem curious, almost unanticipated, that the aspect, the features, the stature, the racial characteristics of the old dwellers in our district should be thus far capable of several delineation; but that is not all, in the same direction and connection, which modern investigation has been able to do for us. We can not only see the stern, forbidding-looking fierce visage and larger stature of the stronger-natured, more powerfully built and, above all, metal-using victor and master, or the softer, tamer, more submissive features and aspect of the old and enslaved inhabitant and owner, now become no better than "a hewer of wood and drawer of water," or the gradual change wrought in the very nature, as well as make and lineaments, of the stronger and master race by generations of intermingling of blood and family with the weaker and gentler, but we are enabled to realise no mean or altogether unsatisfactory idea of many of their modes of life, of much connected with their usages, their arts, their sustenance, and means of procuring it. They were hunters, but not so much of the larger game, such as the deer or wild cattle, as probably of the smaller animals and birds. They had store of domesticated animals, the ox, the pig, the sheep or goat (probably both), and even the horse, which was singularly small, with a large, long, disproportioned head. They wore garments of knitted wool, over and above, as may be presumed to have been the case, the more common ones of skins or fur. These were secured by buttons, pins or brooches, of jet, stone,

bone or bronze. Arrow-points of flint, axe-hammers, beautifully moulded and polished, of granite, basalt or other hard stone, heavy stone axes, knives, saws, scrapers, of flint, picks of deer-horn, with—eventually, at least, and scantily, perhaps—dagger-knives, spear-heads, palstaves or celts of bronze, were their implements and weapons. And beyond doubt they lived together in communities acknowledging not only the ties of family but those of the tribe or sept, so as to unite in many deeds of corporate life and action. That the men who lived on the slopes and were buried in their houses on the hills in the neighbourhood of Whitby and the coast generally were fishermen and mariners there can be no doubt. As an intrusive people, overpowering the weaker and gentler longheads, the roundheads could have intruded themselves only from the side of the sea, and it is not imaginable that their descendants should have forgotten or discontinued the practices of “those who go down to the sea in ships,” however rude they may have been.



CHAPTER VII.

Caedmon and his place in the History of
Ancient Whitby.

DR. YOUNG (*Whitby* p. 115) adverts to the idea that "a church was built at Streoneshalh in the days of Edwin about the year 630," and alleges several reasons for rejecting it, some of which are not without weight. But whether there was a church there or not antecedently to Hilda's foundation, there can be no question that the place itself was in being, and known by the name just written. How long it had been so known we have no means of ascertaining. But over and above the general and recognised reasons for supposing that "even before the establishment of the Roman power Teutonic pirates from the northern lands were already in the habit of plundering the Celtic inhabitants" of divers parts of the British shores, we have seen special reasons for assuming that that probability had a special application in the case of the Cleveland shores. In this case it is not possible to suppose that the place soon to be known as Streoneshalh would escape unnoticed or unvisited. If we adopt the further theory that permanent settlements might be, or would be, made by some groups among these piratical Teuton visitants, the eligibility of such a place as the future Streoneshalh for such selection and settlement can hardly fail to strike us. A secure land-locked bay in itself would possess no small share of recommendation in the eyes of such visitants, and it needs not to specify the other attractions inseparable from the site. Streoneshalh then may well have had its local name from a very early period indeed, and one of Young's guesses, namely that the place derived its name from some "greedy plunderer or pirate who had his abode in this retired quarter," may well be an arrow in the

dark that has struck the mark.† Is it possible for us to call forth this “greedy plunderer,” this ruffian “pirate,” and his crew of associates from the dim mists of bygone centuries, and see them and their equipments, their habits and modes of life, as they actually were in those days of old? “In personal appearance,” says a recent writer,§ in answer to our question, “the primitive Anglo-Saxons were typical Germans of very unmixed blood. Tall, fair-haired and grey-eyed, their limbs were large and stout, and their heads round or brachy-cephalic. They did not intermarry with other nations, preserving their blood pure and unadulterated.” But they had slaves, captives, of many nationalities, spared in war, who must in process of time have learnt to speak English, and whose children, many of them actually English on the father’s side, must have become English in all but pure blood. Here were the elements of the population, the masters and the serfs. And the picture drawn of themselves is of “savage pirates, clad in shirts of ring armour, and greedy of ale. Fighting and drinking are their two delights. The noblest leader is he who builds a great hall, throws it open for his people to carouse in, and liberally deals out beer and bracelets and money at the feast. The joy of battle is keen in their breasts. The sea and the storm are welcome to them. They are fearless and greedy pirates, not ashamed of living by the strong hand alone.”

“The piratical boats of the early English,” says the same author,|| “were row-boats of very simple construction. We possess one undoubted specimen at the present day, whose very date is fixed for us. It was dug up, some years since, from a peat-bog in Sleswick, the old England of our forefathers, along

† It has been seen above that the probable derivation of the name *Streoneshalch* depends on *Streones*—which, in the abstract, signifies strength, and, secondarily, the power of begetting or acquiring—for its first element, and it is in reference to this that the remark in the text is made.

§ *Early Britain*, p. 15.

|| P. 20. An account of a like boat, with an illustrative wood-cut, will be found in Atkinson’s *Cleveland* (i. p. 59), the dimensions of which are larger than those of the one described in the text, and which was propelled by fourteen pairs of oars. I prefer to quote the description given above for obvious reasons.

with iron arms and implements, and in association with Roman coins ranging in date from A.D. 67 to A.D. 217. It may therefore be pretty confidently assigned to the first half of the third century. In this boat then we have one of the identical boats in which the descents upon the British coast were first made. The craft is strongly built of oaken boards, and is seventy feet long by nine broad. The stem and stern are alike in shape, and the boat is fitted for being beached upon the foreshore. A sculptured stone at Häggeby, in Uplande, roughly represents such a ship under way, probably of about the same date. It is rowed with twelve pair of oars, and has no sails. Such a boat might convey about 120 fighting men."

But while such was the boat or ship of the period, what of the hall or home-dwelling of the chieftain? "The hall is long and wide, say 200 feet by 40, with a high roof and curved gables. There is at each extremity an entrance in the middle of the wall, protected by a porch, that is continued in its further end to form cellar and pantry.

"We pass into the hall, a spacious nave with narrow side aisles. Pillars, dividing aisles from nave, support the central roof. The nave is the great hall itself, and down the middle of its floor run the stone hearths, upon which blaze great timber fires. At the upper end is the raised seat of the chief, at a cross-bench, where his wife, who fills the cups of the guests and his familiar thanes, or those whom he distinguishes, sits with him. On each side of the long hearth there runs a line of tables, flanked with benches and stools, at which sit the people who are the chief's 'hearth-sharers.' At the lower end in the space corresponding to the dais, is a table for the drinking-cups. Between the rows of pillars and the outer walls spaces are parted off within the narrow sides for sleeping-benches of the warriors. In some of the spaces are the gilded vats of liquor into which the pails of the cup-bearers are dipped. If women sleep in the hall, the recesses of the pillars behind the dais are kept sacred to them, and there are in the aisles, if the hall be the chief's dwelling, distinct enclosures for the occupation of the family. The sleeping space behind the pillars might, perhaps, be parted from the hall by panelling and tapestry. In such a hall the gleeman often

chanted to his harp now one adventure, now another, as the guests or their lord might call for this or that favourite incident from the long rhythmical, alliterative poems of the time,"* a few of which still remain to attest something as to the manners, habits, characteristics of our Anglian fore-elders.

One of these poems is *Beowulf*, which, according to the prevailing view of modern criticism, was brought over from their old home across the sea by the victorious Anglo-Saxons to the new abodes they had won by their swords in this island of ours, and from it mainly the picture just roughly sketched is derived. Little doubt is there that some such hall existed here at Streoneshalch, occupied by such mead and beer-drinkers, such givers and receivers of rings, bracelets, gold, such listeners to the old heroic chants of the gleemen and others who took the instrument in turn and sang their savage lays; pagan men with pagan thought, pagan feeling, pagan creed and use. Elves and ogres, giants and monsters, horrid pestilent dwellers in forest and fen, quite as much as Woden and Thor, Frea or Tiu, figured among the mental creations of their religion, and have left their resultants in the folk-lore of to-day.

Whether then, or no, the fervour or the piety of the newly converted King Edwin reared a church—one might rather say a 'tabernacle,' a shed of wood and thatched with rushes—at Streoneshalh about the year 630, there can be no doubt that there was ample scope there for the zeal of the Christian preacher, or that, when Hilda's monastery rose a generation later, there could be any question of its being to all intents and purposes a missionary settlement, and motived by missionary energy and enterprise, in the midst of an essentially pagan population. And of course it was altogether necessary, not only that the minds and consciences of the folk should be touched by the eloquence of the preacher, but permanently affected by the labours of the instructor. And there was a machinery extant by the application of which this later process might be materially facilitated.

Reference was made a few sentences back to the "others who, besides the gleeman proper or professional, took their turns" in

* Morley's *English Writers*, Vol. I., Part I., p. 253.

those great halls and, as the beer-cup circled, contributed to the enjoyment, mirth or pastime of the night, by singing portions of the heroic lays of the time, tales of savage daring and achievement mingled with many a marvellous legend. These were made easy of remembrance by their structure. "The short lines and the close alliterative system of the Anglo-Saxon metre," says Professor Morley, "supplied much technical aid to the memory; for, a couplet having been once properly begun, the initial letter of the second and third chief word in it was usually told by the first as a guide to the right recollection." It was essentially, as he adds, "the verse of oral tradition," as well as the verse to which all tunes and instruments of Anglo-Saxon song were adapted."

Let us, with this in our thought, recal one other picture presented to us with simple but graphic descriptiveness in the pages of Bede. There is the "convivium," the feast in the great rude hall, or guest-chamber of the Convent, just as it was wont to be in Pagan times, the thronging guests, the more important at the high table, the rest at the long side-tables, the passing round of the bratchet (mead) and ale in bicker and bowl, the wild tale and stirring song, and, among the assembled company, besides the professional gleeman or bard, many a one able to hear his part in the recitation or chant of metrical adventure or achievement. Among them was a man, not a brother of the Convent as yet, nor yet a thrall or servant; perhaps, however, a free-tenant, certainly one among the guests; within whose breast there dwelt an unrecognised gift, and stirred an unacknowledged yearning, a gift of higher poesy, a yearning to sing a grander song than any hitherto exemplified in the old pagan lays of savage raid and fierce war-scene, which had doubtless been accommodated for use by the converts through the excision of the most startlingly pagan parts and insertion of more Christian sentiments. With this struggling consciousness of one born a poet, this dissatisfaction with the meaner patchwork lays the rest contented themselves withal, once again, as before when the order had gone forth that each guest in succession should contribute to the cheeriness of the banquet, he went forth from among them to evade the task, and as it had fallen to his lot to act as

sentinel over the folds wherein the draught beasts of the visitors were stabled for the night, on being relieved and retiring to rest, his pre-occupied mind, troubled with many thoughts and incomprehensible yearnings, ranging in the strange, unreal fields of dreamland, found itself suddenly, as has happened in how many and many another instance, gifted with a strange facility of uttering itself in verse, and—what happens but so rarely in like cases that it may almost be written, never—of the stranger power of recollecting the dream-composed poetry. And now at last the poet recognised the gift reposed within him and understood the cravings of his soul, and as sacred narrative and inspired doctrine was detailed, section by section, to his willing sense and ready poetical inspiration and faculty, the wondrous tale of Creation and the world's ordering was transliterated in the form and after the exemplar which were best calculated to fit them for their purpose.

For I conceive there was a purpose, a set and definite purpose and intent, for and with which Caedmon's paraphrase was thrown into the form alleged by Bede, and believed to be exemplified in the Anglo-Saxon poem ascribed to his authorship. Listening to the legend of his inspiration and even as treating it as legendary, we are only too ready to forget the foundation of fact, the inevitable necessity for assuming an object or purpose, in accounting for such a fact as Caedmon's alleged inspiration and the form in which that alleged inspiration worked. The short abrupt alliterative character of the Anglo-Saxon metrical compositions or poems had its special purpose and its special use. It was easy to learn by rote, it was easy to remember and repeat when once learnt, not only by the professional gleeman, but by any one. In those days of missionary labour among an absolutely unlettered, uncultured, still more than semi-pagan population, what more available vehicle for the conveyance of Christian instruction and the inculcation of Christian doctrine, than that of the old poetry to which every man, woman and child was accustomed? What more certain means of access to, and permanent reception by, the uncultured mind, of that which all Christenmen must needs receive and remember, than adoption of the form and mode of alliterative recitation to which

none was a stranger? And so, the poetical gift discovered—whether dream-wisely or otherwise, matters not at all—such minds as the Abbess Hild's, and those of the many wise and far-seeing and good men about her, would be swift to see and prompt to avail themselves of the powerful instrument placed in their hands by the alleged, and in a sense perfectly real, inspiration of Caedmon.

But there is still another point of view from which it is well to regard the poem or poems attributed to Caedmon, and the assumed purpose with which they were written. Reference has been made in a previous page to the excision of the more flagrant paganism from some of the old heroic poems, and the insertion of Christian notion and sentiment—done no doubt by some monkish hand with a view to render them less unsuitable for continued recitation among a partially converted or semi-Christianised audience. No one can read *Beowulf* for instance, without having his attention arrested by the parti-coloured character the poem is thus made to assume. But there not only may have been, there really must have been a use in this. No pagan mind, ignorant and uncultivated intellectually, is ever effectually or completely divested of its old errors, its old overthrow, its old mis-shapen beliefs; and History is full of the compromises tacitly but implicitly come to between the Christianity of the early missionaries and the inveterate heathendom of their converts.† It was not good to “put new wine into old bottles,” and the principle was acted upon with a wide latitude embracing more points than one. Thus, the stirring deeds of war and the almost equally fierce carousals in the periods of peace, the ungrudging liberality of the chief and the grandeur of his great exploits, the wild adventures of the sea-rover and his triumph over super-human adversaries of terrific mien, and hitherto irresistible might, these and such like topics had been the theme of the pagan versifier. Too sudden and abrupt a transition from such subjects, dealt with in the old accustomed manner, might have defeated the end alike of the poet and the teacher, and it is, to say the least, remarkable that it should be not only possible

† “Osric and Eanfrid, the immediate successors of Edwin, both apostatized from Christianity, with most of their subjects.” (Young's *Whitby*, i. 118.)

but reasonable to write thus of the reputed Caedmon's epic:—"It retains so much of the old heathen spirit that it may very possibly represent a modernised version of the real Caedmon's poem, by a reviser in the ninth century. It consists of a long Scriptural paraphrase, written in the alliterative metre, short, sharp, and decisive, but not without a wild and passionate beauty of its own. In tone it differs wonderfully little from *Beowulf*, being most at home in the war of Heaven and Satan, and in the titanic descriptions of the devils and their deeds. The conduct of the poem is singularly like that of *Paradise Lost*. Its wild and rapid stanzas show how little Christianity had yet moulded the barbaric nature of the newly-converted English. The epic is essentially a war-song; the Hebrew element is far stronger than the Christian; hell takes the place of Grendel's mere; and, to borrow Mr. Green's admirable phrase, 'the verses fall like sword-strokes in the thick of battle.'"[†]

Possibly the marvels of Bede's narrative were as essential, at the time, and as much in their place, as the "verses like sword-strokes," or the spirit and "essence" of the "war-song," and the familiarity with war-like scenes and descriptions. But it seems not too utterly difficult to see the facts as they were, notwithstanding the bewildering veil of rude superstition thrown over the whole, or, as it may be, the (as it was held to be by the spirit and feeling of the times) justifiable employment of supernatural instruments and agencies to account for perfectly natural, if unusual or unexpected, incidents and events. "Many another," says Bede, "sought to do what Caedmon did, but no one could be found peer to him, because his gift was not of man or by man, but divinely inherited." What less or what more could be said of Milton or Shakespear? But the work was a work to be done, and the man rose up with the gift that was requisite, and by the grace of God used the gift in fulfilling the end for which it was calculated, and—who shall gainsay it?—given.

Thus it is by no means impossible to recognise a certain and definite amount of verisimilitude about the story of Caedmon.

[†] *Anglo-Saxon Britain*, p. 210. An unpretending book, as to size, but full of valuable matter; condensed, of necessity, but always clear and easy of assimilation.

That there should be doubts and difficulties about it, quite independently of the alleged supernatural incidents, is almost inevitable, from the nature of the case. It is said that what we have of Caedmon's paraphrase is not the work of the true Caedmon; that the name is not a real name, and bears no definite meaning, as an Anglo-Saxon name should and must bear; that it is derived from the Book of Genesis in a certain Chaldee paraphrase, and the like. But apart from the perfectly reasonable corrections with which these statements have been met there seems to be no adequate reason for declining to receive Bede's statements as to the simple historical facts:—that there was a man so named; that he was not a professed brother of the convent in the first instance; that up to more than mature age he was in the habit of evading the convivial obligation to sing or recite secular poetry when it came to his turn; that, on one particular occasion when he had done this, on retiring to rest, his watch ended, he had a singular dream; that, subsequently to that dream he found himself able to exercise a certain faculty or gift of which he had been unconscious before; that this faculty or gift was utilised by the Abbess Hild under the direction and with the special aid of the able and zealous ecclesiastics by whom she was supported in her efforts to Christianise the district; that he composed such and such poems; and that, after living a holy and laborious life as a professed brother and teacher, several years having been so spent, he died, still an inmate of the convent. There is no reason whatever why all this should not be true. There is indeed no reason whatever for alleging or supposing that it is not true. Even down to the dream it can hardly be otherwise than true, and without any miracle whatsoever. As Professor Morley well says—"In his lay habit Caedmon had listened to the preaching and had revered the self-denying practice of the Culdee missionaries. The songs he had not learnt by rote he had left unlearned, hardly conscious that this was so because they did not satisfy him, and so evaded his turn at feasts.....On this special occasion he went out.....to keep night watch over the beasts of the whole company. The rude feast and song might have impressed the imagination of a poet warmed and influenced by the efforts of

zealous preachers. So, dreaming after his watch he might have been prepared for the embodiment in vision of his waking thought, and that night, dreaming and waking, he began to recite the solemn song, and his soul, stirred by his theme, seemed to him stirred by sudden inspiration."

So then we claim Caedmon as a real personage, we claim him as one who belonged to the immediate vicinity of what is now Whitby, and ultimately as one among the brethren dwelling in Hilda's convent, we claim him as a poet indeed, a poet of a high order, and as recognising the use of the great gift reposed in him and using it after his might for the special work which lay before him; and we assume the poem which has come down to us, bearing Caedmon's name, to be actually and truly, allowing perhaps for some interpolations and variations attributable to a later transcriber, a part of the great paraphrase he is recorded to have written, and to be a standing monument of the glory of the earliest Whitby man we know by name.



CHAPTER VIII.

Glimpses of Mediæval Life, and some of its Conditions.

MANY years ago the writer met with the couplet—

“Gin Hob mun ha’e nowglt but a hardin’ hamp,
He’ll coom nae mair nowther to berry nor stamp.”

It was repeated to him as a part of the then well-known Hob or Brownie legend connected with a farm-house called Hart Hall in Glaisdale, and, as such, tersely embodied the reasons for the discontinuance of the yeoman-service hitherto rendered by the being designated the Hob. In curiosity, no doubt, the tenants of Hart Hall had peeped into the barn to see who and what the strenuous worker there might be, and seeing a little hairy man, with no garment to speak of, working with inconceivable vigour and effect, in gratitude for such service, made and laid for him, to be taken up when next his working visit was made, a ‘hardin’ hamp,’ that is, a farming man’s smock of coarse hempen material. Hob duly came and as duly marked the offering, and greatly offended, as in every like case, by the evidence of forbidden curiosity on the one hand, and the insufficient appreciation of his manifold service on the other, he vented his dissatisfaction in the above couplet.

One other but imperfect version of a like couplet, spoken on a like occasion, has been met with as localised in the County of Durham:—

“A hamp and a hood!
Then Hobbie again ’ll dee nae mair good.”

In this we have the hamp again, but with the addition of a hood, which may, perhaps, to some, act as a reminder of some reproduction of a quaint Early English illumination derived from some ancient manuscript.

For the couplet is interesting—not simply as it was to the writer, in the first instance, by reason of its embodying three notable old Cleveland words, all fallen into disuse now; but—by reason of its unintentional transmission of a trait of the social condition of the labourer in old times, and of its affording some clue, by the same circumstance, as to its approximate date. At the time the couplet became stereotyped, so to speak, by its practical addition to what we now speak of as the folklore of the district, the labouring man wore but one garment, though possibly a glimmering forecast of greater vestimentary comfort, and certainly cleanliness, might be beginning to show itself. It is to this state of things that reference is made in *Piers the Ploughman* (Passus xiv):—

“I have but one hool hatere, quod Haukyn: I am the lasse to blaine
Though it be soiled and selde clene: I slepe thereinne on nightes;
And also I have an houswyf: hewen and children
That wolen bymolen it many tyme: maugre my chekes.
It hath bene laved in lente, and oute of lente both.”

One single garment is all I have, and it is scarcely my fault if it is seldom clean. I sleep in it by night, and by day it is soiled by my children's fingers and the dirty ways of my household. The washing in Lent, and even an occasional laving out of Lent, will not keep it clean.

The fact however is of the one single garment serving as smock-frock by day, shield from the cold by night, and general towel for wife, children and household besides.

And as to the household and the filth of it, and the cleanliness (!) of the person, the King himself (Edward IV.) did not, it would seem, “use his footpan every Saturday night, and would not have been the worse for an occasional tubbing,” no one used soap except the laundress, and in Henry the Eighth's kitchen the scullions “went naked or in garments of exceeding vileness, and lay in such condition in the nights and dayes in the kitchens or ground by the fireside,” the houses themselves, or rather the living apartments in the same being subject to the following description:—“the floors are of clay strewed with rushes from the bog, renewed from time to time above, but underneath layer on layer of twenty years standing, reeking with expectoration,

vomit, urine of dogs and human beings, spilt beer, offal of fish, and other filth and garbage not to be mentioned. Imagine the stench and exhalation from all this when the weather changes." So far Erasmus. And if this was the order in the houses of the gentry and nobles, what about the hut or cabin or cot of Haukyn the ploughman, with his one latere! And Haukyn the ploughman, moreover, some century or two earlier still than the time at which this representation was a true one! Truly it helps us in these days of 'sanitation,' when bad drain-work in even a Royal residence causes such an outburst of reprobation as is still fresh in our ears, to form some lively idea of why the black-death, and the sweating sickness, and the plague found such ready access among our forefathers and repeated their visits—once, I think, three times in twenty years—and half unpeopled England.

Otherwise one hardly sees that the condition of the working poor was so hard in the times we are most concerned with. Certainly when we hear of a half-penny a day, with small beer, as the wages of a woman engaged in farm-work, of twopence without meat as the pay of a man doing draught-work, of 14d. as a week's wages to a glazier, of 16d. as the week's pay of a plumber, of 1d. a day for an ordinary hand, of 4d. a day to a working mason, and 5d. a day for a sawyer, we are apt to think the times must have been times of great hardship for the working population. But it was—saving only the before-mentioned particulars of clothing and shelter—not so in reality. An acre of good land could be hired for 10d. or 1s., a cow bought for 6s. to 8s.; barley cost 4d. or 5d. a bushel, maslin or blend corn (wheat and rye grown together for use in bread-making) 3½d., wheat 5d. to 8d., oats 2d. or 2½d. (sometimes even much less), fowls 2d. each, eggs twenty for 1d.; a good sized store pig could be got for 1s., and a sheep for 6d., a hundred herrings for 7d. or 7½d., and so forth: and when the prices of corn and flesh rated thus, the apparently small wages of the working folk are seen to be not so disproportioned to the demands upon them as would at first sight seem to be the case, especially when it is borne in mind that it is fairly certain that, besides the rate of money-payment mentioned, the worker in almost every instance received also his (or her) adequate rations of

food—in good Cleveland vernacular “the daytal man,” then as now, “addled his wage and his meat.”

Have the readers of this Hand-book any formed or realised notion of what the old English village actually was? It is safe to say the modern English village or hamlet fails to give any true idea on the subject. Each cottage—‘cot’ is the olden word—stood in its own ‘toft,’ by which is meant an enclosure of varying size, it might be the eighth or tenth part of an acre, or perhaps, very considerably larger, while in the rear of this toft stretched the croft, a long, narrow enclosure usually under pasture. Then in the large common field belonging to the general community of the vill each man occupying a toft and croft—*villanus* was the Latinised form of his appellation—had his apportioned lot of arable land, which was separated from that of his neighbour on either side by a low earthen bank or ‘balk.’ This common field was surrounded by a good fence or hedge (under charge of the hey-ward), which was made-up after seed-time was over in the spring, and broken through again when the crops had been severed and led in the autumn, in order to admit of the cattle belonging to the entire community, from the lord downwards, pasturing freely over it. There are few parishes in Cleveland in which traces of this system are not found remaining even yet, and one of the most frequent of these traces is the occurrence of the word ‘wandale’ in one or other of three or four different forms; the former part of this word meaning field or cultivated land, and the latter—*dale*, namely—share or divided portion, as in *dole*, *deal* (at cards), &c. The common field, it should be added, was enclosed on such a principle as to admit of a kind of three-shift husbandry, the land being cropped for two years and left fallow during the third.

As to the cots:—when the houses of the great, the noble, or the gentleman, were such as has been noticed in speaking of the old Anglo-Saxon hall, or of the rush-concealed filthiness of the principal room of the Old English house, our anticipations of what the contemporaneous dwellings of the “lower orders” must have been will not be very highly raised. Some

remaining vestiges of old Cleveland cabins or cots—it is hardly fitting to say ‘cottages’—may perhaps serve to suggest what the mediæval cot must have been. No side-walls, or at least low earthen banks as their substitute, with the rafters forming the skeleton of the roof rising direct from the surface to the ridge-piece, and the whole covered with a dense thatch of straw or rushes—the latter, probably, prevailing most. Inside, low vertical partitions on either side of a central space, shutting off portions of covered space (analogous to what are called the aisles in the description of the old Anglian Hall), with door and lights in the ends. And beyond all question some of the stock of the cotter—fowls, pigs, calves—sheltered as well as the family, and sharing the use of the clay-floor with it as well, and perhaps by night as well as by day. § One can better understand from such a picture how Haukyn’s sole hatere would be ‘by-moled’ by his children and household under such domestic arrangements.

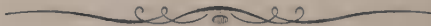
Another feature of the times was the prevalence of wide tracts of wild forest and morass. Every vill, it is not simply likely, but certain, once stood in what was practically a clearing, and the actual process of clearing is attested as being still active

§ It may seem to some that in writing thus the author must be drawing on his imagination, and that even at the early time under notice things could hardly have been as bad as is thus implied. But I have within the last twenty years been into two houses in one and the same village, not ten miles from Whitby, in which village there were other cabins not much better, the main features in which houses and in the occupation of them were—one room, with a clay-floor, for the occupation of the family, separated from an enclosed place formed by boarded partitions which formed pig-sty and calf-pen, under the same roof, by a narrow unlighted passage. There was no up-stairs room, hardly even an attempt at a loft. The family lived and slept in the same room, some sort of boxed-off sleeping arrangements being contrived along the wall, less private and even more unhealthy than the box-beds of many of the houses of North Durham, Northumberland and Berwickshire, as the writer used to know them forty years ago. A raftered house of the description given above, but with external walls of modern erection, was still in being at Redcar some years ago, and one half or thereabouts of Long Marston village, remaining little altered since the battle of Marston Moor, it is said, with the enormously thick thatch and low doorways of the cottages, gives some faint idea as to how far the modern abode of the working man has been altered from that of his prototype of five or six centuries ago.

in Cleveland long after the times of the Conquest by the imposition of a name involving the word *-ridding* as its final element—such names being of very frequent occurrence. And the forest laws were stringently, inhumanly severe, and Haukyn, if he had sheep of his own or had to look after his lord's sheep, was obliged to have the claws of his dog's feet cut off, lest they, the dogs, should disturb or injure the game in the forest. But the game included animals that do not invariably run away from man, and there is an interesting grant by Bishop Pudsey to Kepyre Hospital, dating about 1170, in which he concedes to the shepherds of the Vaccary in Weardale that they may have their dogs without the claws cut off, on account of the wolves. And in a deed of somewhere about the same time a concession is made by Bernard de Baliol to the monks of Rievaulx that their shepherds in Westerdale (where they had by gift of the same baron pasturage for, among other animals, six score sheep) might set traps or gins to catch the wolves—with the reservation, however, that whatever fell into the said traps, over and above their own stock, was to be his—and that besides they were at full liberty to use horns in the same pasture-places "on account of the wild beasts and the brigands." Nay even so late as 1395 we find an item in the account of expenses incurred by Whitby Abbey specifying money paid for the "tewing (tanning) of thirteen wolf-skins," so numerous were these beasts still in the forests of Whitby Liberty at that date. And with forest all round, and, one may quite safely say, up to the very doors of not a few of the villis of Cleveland in mediæval times, it was not only a work not unattended with risk to the shepherd to keep his cattle and sheep safe, but in a lengthened and severe winter, like those of 1879 and 1880, incursions by fierce packs of hungry wolves to the very doors of the cots must have been no uncommon thing. So that such names as *Wolfdale* (now *Wood-dale*, or *Wood-hill*, or *Woodill*) on the borders of Danby and Egton, or *Wolfpit* on Danby High moor, and a host of other local names of like formation, all attest an unpleasant fact in the experience of the mediæval inhabitants of the district.

Yet one other glance back at a prevailing feature of common usage in relation to cattle and horse-breeding in those days.

Mention was made just now of a grant of pasturage for six score sheep besides other animals in Westerdale, twelve cows and two bulls being also named, with their 'followers' up to two years old. But in the same deed a like grant is made connected with the Baliol forest in Teesdale. In many cases grants of pasturage for much greater numbers of sheep, cows, bulls, pigs were made, and their followers (or young) were allowed to remain until three years old. But besides the animals already specified as mentioned in Bernard de Baliol's charter, stock of another description is mentioned, namely mares, pasturage for no less than sixty of which is given within definite limits, and under the conditions that their offspring should be removed when they became two years old. Grant of wood to build lodges for the herdsmen—who were, practically, to be a brother of the abbey and two servants, and who had to keep watch by night and rest by day—was also liberally made, besides thatching material, and other wood for a purpose which must be more specially noted, viz.: for the construction of folds wherein to catch or entrap the mares and their offspring when the stated time of year for the removal of the two-year old colts and fillies should have arrived. We have then this feature in the landscape of north England—for what held good of the forests of Teesdale held good of at least a part of the Whitby Liberty also, and no doubt of the whole of it—that large herds of practically wild horses might be seen roaming at will within given limits. Sixty brood mares with their followers implies at least a stud of two hundred head. And a part of the work of the Haukyns of the day was to "go to stod"—to go, when commanded, to render service in the catching or conducting the capture or management of these more than semi-wild horses.



CHAPTER IX.

Glimpses of Conventual and other Life in
the 14th Century.

IN the Guisborough Chartulary there is a document bearing date not very long after the decease of Peter de Brus III., the last baron of that name of Skelton, which prescribes certain rules touching the investiture of future priors of Gyseburn (or Guisborough). Hitherto they had gone to Skelton Castle to receive investiture at the hands of the regnant baron there. For the future it was to be otherwise. On the death of the last male Brus the advowson of the priory was divided into two medieties of which one remained with de Falconberg, Lord of Skelton, who had married one of the de Brus heiresses, the other passed to de Thweng who had married another. The heiress of de Thweng in her turn had married William le Latimer the younger, who, in her right, became Lord of Danby, and the document under notice provides that, for the time to come, the Priors elect of Gyseburn should go to Skelton Castle and Danby Castle in alternation and there receive their formal acknowledgment as heads of the great Convent of western Cleveland. And this is the account, founded on recent tradition and given late in the sixteenth century or early in the seventeenth, of the state no long time before maintained by this great local dignitary:—
 “Within the length of a few myles the Lords following have had their seates; at Kyldale Castle, the Perceys; at Aton, Nevylle of Westmoreland; at Whorlton Castle, the Lord Menell; at Skelton Castle, the Lord Sommers; at Danby Castle, the Lord Latymer; at Harlsey Castle, Sir James Strangwaies; at Wilton Castle, Sir Ralf Bulmer; at Mulgrave Castle, Sir Ralf [Bigod]; at Ingleby, the Lord Eure: all these great personages dwelte together in a small cyrcuite, and in the mydeste of them

the Prior of Gysborough, who kepte a most pompous house, insomuch that the towne consistynge of 500 householders, had noe lande but lyved all on the abbey. Two gatehouses had lodgings and all houses of offyces appertayninge to a dwellinge-house, wherein two of the Bulmers, knights, within the memory of men were resident, havinge allowance, when they came, of a plentiful dyet, at eyther to entertain strangers, and as many horse in winter in the stable as in summer at grasse. The number whereof and other particulars one Thompsone, an almesman there, and diverse others have related to me. And alsoe of the state [of the] Prior's service by yeomen, who broughte his water to a rounde hole in the greate chamber where it was receayved by gentlemen who served the Pryor only at his table. One thing I remember of this great provision that a steward of theirs was put out of his offys because he had aforehand but only 400 quarters of grayne to serve their house."

And is it altogether impossible to form some sort of an idea, to hint some, even though it be a faint, picture of the procession for such purpose as it travelled on its striking way and reached its striking destination? For the road to be travelled still remains, some two or three miles of it, as it was on the day of the first pilgrimage of the kind that ever was travelled, and of the hall of reception, four windows and a door in the wall on the one side, and the foundation of the wall on the other, and one end wall are left to attest its dimensions, and the place where the dais with its table for the barons and knights and the honoured priestly guest sat in dignity at the stately feast which preceded or followed the formal act of institution once stood. This is the description which has been given elsewhere:—"In a line with the south wall of the kitchen was the north end of the great hall, a noble apartment of fifty-four feet by twenty-eight and a half, occupying the entire original east wing of the building, lighted by four windows of two lights each under a square hood-moulding, sixteen feet and a half high, opening on the interior court. Originally the northern wall of the hall was an exterior wall, although corbels were subsequently introduced into it at some elevation for the purpose of supporting a flooring above what then became an apartment of twenty-one feet by twenty abutting

on the east end of the kitchen. From this room, as well as from the apartment on the base of the north-eastern angular projection or tower, doors opened into the hall. Another opened upon the north-east angle of the court close to the entrance to the kitchen, and a fourth opened on a vaulted stair-case near the other end of the west side which gave access to the upper floor in the south wing of the castle, another large apartment with panelled walls."

And the kitchen, from whence, by the convenient doorway noted a moment since, the banquet was to be borne,—what of it? Twenty feet wide and occupying a considerable portion of the central part of the north side or wing of the castle, the two fireplaces, one on either side, each with an opening of sixteen feet and a half, remain to attest the scale on which the provision for the daily wants of the household was furnished forth, as well as to signify in no uncertain tone how abundant would be the fare on the day made famous by the stately visit of the Prior elect of the great and wealthy house of Gyseburn.

As to the road by which the cavalcade proceeded it must be remembered that it was before the days of Macadam and when as yet the road-maker's materials were but flat slabs of stone, and the road itself what is known by the modern name of 'causeway.' Some two feet wide (or just sufficient to allow ample foothold for man or horse, but nowhere wide enough to permit the transit of two abreast) it crossed the country through wood and forest, over hill and dale, across the brown moorland and not turning aside because of the morass, unless it were by reason of a quaking bog which might be of unknown depth.||

|| The writer once heard an aged dalesman give a graphic account of the parish meeting held on the moor—a narrow slip of considerable elevation lying between Danby Dale and Westerdale—to decide what was to be done in the case of the causey or horse-road from Castleton to Kirbymoorside, and which resulted in the construction of the first 'turnpike'—not that there were any toll-gates set up—into the district. There was a wet, boggy place at one particular point which in the wetter times in winter became a morass, and in the language of the narrator, "t' steens wad gan oerhcead"—in other words the flat slabs constituting the road, in the wetter or boggy parts, persisted in settling down bodily into the treacherous soil, and so causing breaks in the continuity of the road-way. There are many such

Issuing from the embattled gate—for the Priory of Gyseburne was fortified with a strong wall and other defences, under royal sanction and warrant—the long procession of churchmen and their attendants, the knights dependent on the house, and others distinguished by their own or their ancestors' benefactions, or perhaps animated by religious fervour, with banners and crosses intermingled, the flashing armour of the men-at-arms contrasting strangely with the more sombre dress of the canons, wended its way at first through the thick woods of the lowlands surrounding Gyseburne along by the reserved coverts of Hay and Aisdale, and then at the foot of the hill now called Birkbrow struck out southward and eastward over the brown moor which for miles and miles lay between the forests of Asadale and Danby. Now picking their way in single file, the long line stretching far away in the distance, now opening out in more spreading order as they reached the firmer parts, how imposing the march to the reverent eye of the country dwellers, and how unspeakably grand the panorama as the bolder heights were reached and the strangely beautiful dale-country, not denuded then, as now, of its miles upon miles of wood—birch, alder, holly,* ash, oak, pine and willows—lay open to the beholder's eye, with the open sea to the left, from Tees-mouth to Kettleness, forming a setting to the whole, as the enclosing moorland hills with their dense edgings of forest did to each several dale.

It was about the date of the first of these journeys that we

chasms now in the line of the ancient road over the moors from Guisborough to Danby. Within the last 35 years many tons of coal have been brought into this district in long narrow sacks or 'pokes' holding about two cwt. each on the backs of horses and mules, in gangs of twenty-five or thirty. All the traffic into or out of the district at the commencement of the present century was thus conducted, and it is but two days since the writer in looking over a conveyance of some 250 years old found one of the parties designed a "panyerman;" these old causeways being frequently termed even yet "pannierman's causeys."

* The holly grows very abundantly as well as to a very large size in some of the dales. Thus in Danby Crag there are still many magnificent trees, 35 or 40 feet high, while 35 years ago there were still many of the older trees left, the diameters of the trunks of which were from 2½ to 3 feet.

learn something about the internal condition of the community of Whitby, shewing us that other considerations save those of piety and the service of God had their sway within the Monastery. In the regular course of the duties of his office the Archbishop had made his visitation in person at the Abbey—the date was the 14th May, 1320, when the glorious Abbey-Church was now approaching completion—and he had found many things calling for his pastoral care and authority. The services of the Church were not performed with fitting solemnity, perhaps even decency, such of them as were read being read with too little attention to distinctness of utterance and with unseemingly haste, the verses being taken up from the alternate sides of the choir before the previous ones were nearly finished. The rule of conventual silence was infringed. The Convent was heavily encumbered with debt, occasioned not by their heavy building expenses—for that is not so much as glanced at by the Archbishop—but by their too great luxuriousness of living and the expense of the entertainment of people from without coming with large retinues. Some of the monks were in the habit of talking too freely of conventual matters that ought to have been considered private, and secular folk from without were unduly encouraged to invade the sacred precincts. The brethren were unable to content themselves with the sober raiment prescribed by their rule, but added other raiment, both underclothing and external garments, of finer material and newer cut, according as the money they received—perhaps begged or exacted—permitted. Discipline was badly maintained, sometimes with penances and penalties inflicted with harshness, sometimes too light or laxly omitted altogether by the office-bearers of the monastery—the Abbot, Prior, Sub-prior and “third Prior.” The monks themselves had fallen into the bad habits of wandering almost at will through the district, of gossiping with external persons, even of roaming the country with bow and arrow on sport intent, of dog-fancying and other right secular pastimes, of sojourning in secular families, and all this besides a slovenly, negligent, wasteful mismanagement of the material resources of the house, and recklessness as to either expenses or accounts. Hereupon the Archbishop steps in with his authority, and requires an immediate and radical change

in all these particulars, applying remedies for the state of indebtedness and prescribing regular audits at the hands of responsible officers, duly appointed, as to all the incomings and outgoings connected with the entire property of the monastery.†

How far the measures thus indicated were efficient in reforming the abuses specified we have no means of judging, but "all the foundations of the earth would seem to have been out of course" as to the principles and modes of action of the external world,—at least if we take the evidence afforded by the reports of criminal cases which are preserved in the Public Records, as our guide in forming an opinion. William le Latimer, the younger, the builder of the castle in which the feast of investiture above referred to was wont to take place, was the husband of Lucia de Thweng, grand-daughter of the illustrious house of Brus, and in his absence in the Scottish wars Nicholas de Meinill, Baron of Whorlton, a man of great possessions in other parts of the country besides North Yorkshire, robbed him of his wife,‡ taking her away from Danby Castle to his own castle at Whorlton, where she lived with him afterwards, and was the mother of his son who, despite his illegitimacy, became afterwards baron of the lordship. Then we hear of deliberate attempts made by this same unscrupulous personage to hire men to murder the injured husband. De Meinill is publicly accused, and the testimony of one or more of the intended assassins is brought against him. All the details of the persons employed, of the places where the

† Doubtless the account rolls of about 1395 and 1396 which still remain in the custody of the owner of Whitby Abbey, together with the other like rolls which were extant at the beginning of the century, and the inventory of the goods belonging to the Abbey (which are severally printed in the *Whitby Chartulary*) so far as still remaining serve to attest the obedience which was paid by the Abbot and Convent to the injunctions of the Archbishop.

‡ Many records connected with this scandalous business are still in existence (among the rest, several entries in the Registers of the Archbishops preserved in the Minster Registry Office, touching the proceedings against de Meinill in the Archbishop's Court in the matter of the adultery), and in these the expressions used might lead on to the notion that it was a case of abduction by violence. But it is more than doubtful if the words used are anything more than the formal "vi et armis," of legal phraseology.

attempts at subornation were made, of the plans laid for the assassination, are given, and the case looks very black indeed against the Whorlton baron, but when at last the case comes on for decisive hearing, these witnesses who, beyond all doubt almost, had been got at in the mean time, and either bribed or threatened into suppressing their evidence, declare that all they had said before was untrue, and only alleged at the instance and procuration of the other party! It is a picture of unmitigated scoundrelism in the higher ranks, in the intermediate ranks, and in the menial ranks that is shewn throughout the whole case. But were the evidence that de Meinill was justly accused less convincing than it is, suspicion would still point its finger at him very decisively, for there is another case of cold-blooded and deliberate villainy clearly brought home to him in another Assize-trial, the records of which also exist. The house of a John de Mowbray at Tampton is beset by night, he is slain, his wife is slain, his brother and daughter are slain, and others of the household, and then the house itself is set on fire, and the bodies of the victims are consumed in the flames. This ferocious crime, in the execution of which there were some dozen or so of persons concerned, several of whom were hanged and others fled the country and found refuge in hostile Scotland, was clearly brought home to de Meinill as having been not only instigated and promoted by him, but actually planned in several of its details. And when he is convicted—for convicted he was—he and one or two more of the infamous gang seek to shelter themselves under the plea that they were churchmen! The plea, moreover, seems to have been formally admitted in one instance or more, and the convicted prisoners are handed over to Ecclesiastical justice! And what has to be noted as directly connected with the subject matter which led on to this illustration of the condition of contemporary morality,—it appears in the course of the proceedings that one or more of the ‘holy men,’ the monks of Rievaulx, were accessories to the fact, both before and after the murder and incendiary sequel to it, one of them being among the refugees in Scotland, and the Abbot himself underlying grave suspicion of not being altogether clean-handed in the matter. The times were indeed “out of joint.” It was a

period that one of our recent historians writes of as having been "among the darkest of our history. A horrible succession of famines intensified the suffering which sprang from the absence of all rule during the dissensions between the barons and the king; while the overthrow of Bannockburn, and the ravages of the Scots in the North, brought shame on England such as it had never known."

But better times were coming. Out of all this evil and wrong and shame, good was to evolve. The nation was becoming consolidated, differing races, the conquerors and the conquered, were being fused into one mass, French was ceasing to be used even among the noble classes, English was winning its way, and a greater movement still was already making itself felt, the issue of which eventually was to be the removal of those who once had been the pioneers of progress alike in religion, agriculture, civilisation and culture, but now had too generally shown such a marked declension as to have begun to become a self-seeking, self-sparing, self-indulging set of communities—drones instead of the busy workers who erst had occupied the monasteries and exerted a beneficent influence over the districts in which they were severally placed. And Piers the Plowman and Chaucer alike, by showing us the feeling which was astir among the people, point forward to that which was about to come, one issue of which, among the thousand others like, was that Whitby Abbey became the Ruin it is.



APPENDIX.

A.—In correlation with the remarks at a former page upon the place-name Thingwala, and its significance in relation to the former prevalence of the Danish polity, civil and religious, in the entire district, it may be well to note here a further circumstance, the full import of which has only disclosed itself since the chapter referred to was written. It is a fact to be noted that throughout the period embraced by the ancient documents connected with Whitby Abbey the peculiarly shaped hill we know as Roseberry Topping was invariably and solely called by the name—or some form (varying greatly, it may be) of the name—Odinberg or Odinsberg. This name, it is hardly necessary to say, is simply and exclusively Scandinavian. The Saxon, Anglian, or Old English form would have been spelt with an initial W. At the foot of the hill thus designated or named after the chief of the Teutonic gods, and by Danish sponsors, is a place (now a farm-house) called Airyholm. The ancient name of Airyholm is Ergum or Hergum, and to this name there is a meaning which, co-ordinated with the name of the hill overtopping it, seems to have a very noteworthy significance. Hergum is, in point of fact, simply the locative or dative plural of the Old Norse word *hörgr* [A.S. *hearg*; O.H.Germ. *haruc*]—a heathen place of worship. “Distinction is to be made,” says Mr. Vigfusson, “between *hof* (temple) and *horg*: the *hof* was a house of timber, whereas the *horg* was an altar of stone erected on high places, or a sacrificial cairn built in open air, and without images, for the *horg* itself was to be stained with the blood of the sacrifices.....The *horg* worship reminds one of the worship in high places of the Bible.....The worship in *horgs* seems to be older than that in temples, but was in after times retained along with temple worship.” There are three or four other Erghums or Hergums in North Yorkshire. One of these Mr. Skaife (*Kirkby's Inquest for Yorkshire*, p. 54) speaks of as having “ceased to exist. Erghum, or Argam, stood a little to the south of the road leading from Burton Fleming to Grindale, and about a mile from the latter village.” It is perhaps hardly correct to say Erghum or Argam has “ceased to exist,” at least, without some qualification. The ancient vill so named, no doubt, is no longer in existence; but the name survives and is in daily use in connection with the line of earthworks known as the Argam Dyke, described by Major-General Pitt Rivers at the Meeting of the British Association at York, and in the May Number of the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*. It is not without interest that the *horg* betokened by this name should have been raised on what is more than probably the second line of intrenchment raised by the invading roundheads on their advance of conquest into the country, and in a position of which General Pitt Rivers says that “from Argam to the hills immediately above,

and to the east of Rudston, the position is such as any general of modern times might have chosen for the defence of the ground." Another Argum or Ergum of Domesday is now Eryholm, in the Gilling district, not far from Dalton Station on the North Eastern Railway; and an Airyholm there is also in the parish of Hovingham, which, by the association with it of places named Howethorp and Baxtonhowe—right Danish names both—forms a township of the said parish. Besides these, and Arram in Holderness, formerly Argum or Erghum, all of which, without doubt, are the sites of ancient *horgs*, there are not a few names, mostly in North-West Yorkshire, and on the borders of Lancashire, which, terminating as they do in *argh*, *ergh*, *argo* and the like, depend upon precisely the same word for their derivation. Among these are Grimesarge, Gusandarghe, Gudlacsargo, Manzserge, Stratesergum, &c., the first of which depends upon one of Odin's *aliases* for its first element, the second on the word *gudh* or *godh* (in the sense of idol or graven image), and so forth.

Surely such place-names as Hergum and Thingwala are not without a forceful eloquence in declaring the preponderance of the "Danish Element" in our North Country, and in what way it asserted itself.

B.—The measures, taken, I believe, with the greatest accuracy, which Mr. Godfrey Hirst has favoured me with, are as follows:—

	<i>Ft.</i>	<i>In.</i>
Length inside the nave to west side of transept	138	5
Width of north transept at its southern extremity	44	5
Do. do. northern do.	45	1
Length of west wall of transept	37	10
Do. east do.	36	7½
Do. inside choir from east wall of transept	105	4
Half width of choir inside	31	1
Do. nave do.	29	5

Mr. Hirst has also sent me the measures across the several bays and buttresses of the whole north wall of the church, beginning at the east end, which are of considerable interest. Thus, to take the bays in the order in which they come:—

	<i>Ft.</i>	<i>In.</i>
The width of the 1st is	18	2
Do. do. 2nd	13	8
Do. do. 3rd	13	9
Do. do. 4th, 5th, and 6th, each	13	8½
Do. of 1st buttress is	2	3
Do. of each of the other five	3	1
Do. of aisle of north transept	12	1½
Do. second bay	26	0
Do. of the three buttresses on north side of north transept.....2ft. 4½in., 4ft. 9in.,	3	0
Do. of the two buttresses on east side of north transept	2ft. 6½in.	3 0
Do. of the first bay north	18	8
Do. of the two buttresses on west side	5ft. 0in. and	4 2

The buttresses and bays of the nave cannot in several cases be measured with decisive accuracy, owing to the effects of ruin, but as far as they can be given the figures stand thus :—

	<i>Ft.</i>	<i>In.</i>
Width of 1st bay west of transept	10	9
Do. 2nd do. do.	13	5½
Do. 3rd do. do.	12	2
Do. of the two intermediate buttresses each	3	1

After the 3rd bay follows a space of 17 feet, then a buttress of 3ft. 8½in., then a space of 18ft. 10½in., and a buttress of 3ft. 9in., next to which is the doorway, 11ft. 7in. in the entire opening. The next buttress cannot be even guessed, but the entire space of buttress and bay is 20ft. 4in. Thereafter follows a buttress of 4ft. 9in. wide, and the last or westernmost bay of 13ft. 10in.. The projection of the westernmost buttress is 6 feet, and its width 4ft. 4in.

The measures of the west front are, projection of buttress 4ft. 6in., width of first buttress on that front 3ft. 2in., after which a ground plan becomes necessary to make the measurements intelligible.

The measures thus given, it is well to state, are taken along the top of the bevelled course or plinth of the foundation, and thus an addition of 16 inches of thickness is required from the east end to the south side of the first bay on the west side of the transept, and after that, to the west-end, of about 11 inches.

ERRATA.

At page 10, line 18, for *first* read *just*.

Do. 16, „ dele comma after 'dialect.'

Do. 24, „ 7 of second note, for *A. G.* read *A. S.*

Do. 27, „ 4 of note, for *for* read *foe*.

Do. 28, „ 8 from bottom, for *camplification* read *amplification*.

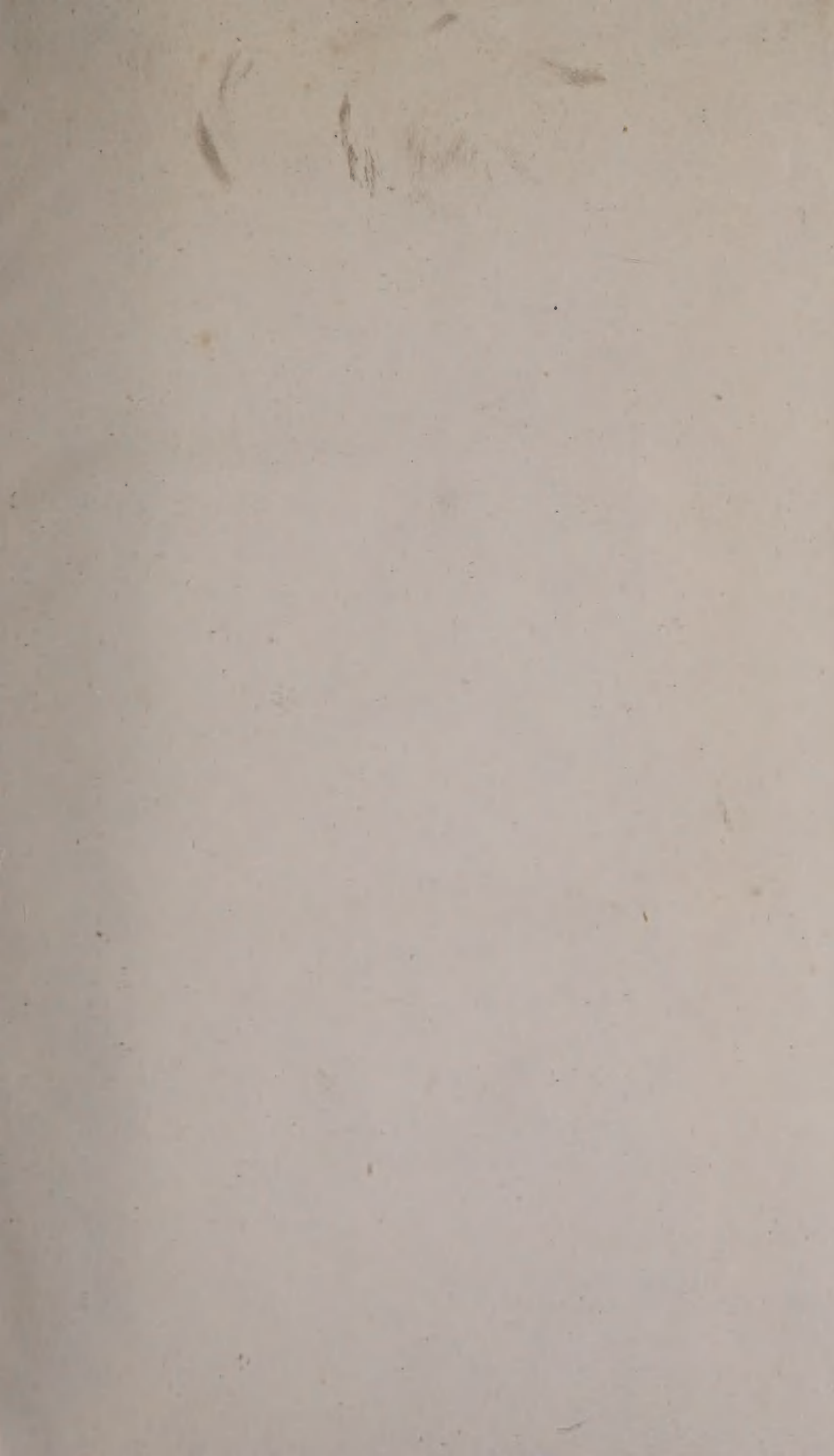
Do. 42, last line dele *than*.

Do. 48, line 5, for *incumbency* read *incumbency*.

Do. 62, „ 14, for *tower* read *lower*.

Do. 63, „ 9 from bottom, for *recive* read *receive*.

Do. 74, „ 11, for *bulging* read *bulging*.



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